

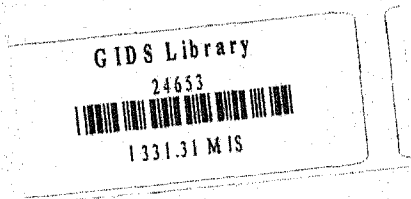
A Study on child labour in glass industry Ferozabad

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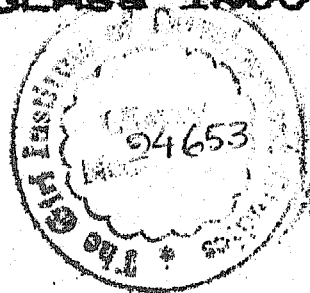


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INSTITUTE OF DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Sector 'O', Aliganj Housing Scheme
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**STUDY ON CHILD LABOUR IN GLASS INDUSTRY
FEROZABAD**



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G P M
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CONTENTS

		ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	i - ii
CHAPTER	I	: INTRODUCTION	1 - 28
CHAPTER	II	: A SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROFILE OF FEROZABAD	29 - 47
CHAPTER	III	: GLASS INDUSTRY IN FEROZABAD	48 - 61
CHAPTER	IV	: SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF THE SAMPLE HOUSEHOLDS AND THE SUPPLY OF CHILD LABOUR	62 - 86
CHAPTER	V	: SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF WORKING CHILDREN AND THEIR LABOUR USE	87 - 117
CHAPTER	VI	: PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT, HEALTH HAZARDS AND SOCIAL INFRASTRU- CTURE	118 - 140
CHAPTER	VII	: LEGAL STATUS AND ASPECT OF CHILD LABOUR	141 - 157
CHAPTER	VIII	: CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS	158 - 174

CHAPTER I

Introduction

In transitional societies man regards child as an asset created by God and child use as a part of his family-cum-social order. But in a modern developed society, the child is perceived as a product of human reproductive process. Hence child development is conceived as an essential component of human resource development. That is why in the modern society, the child is not used as labour and all care is taken for the development of child as a unit of investment for his/her proper education and health with a view to developing him/her as human capital. As a result, the use of child as labour till the age of 14 to 18 years does not prevail in a modern society.

In a transitional society, the case of child labour is also regarded as an economic practice because of the persistence of tradition-bound occupations and occupational immobility. But this society is not free from the influence of modern scientific outlook for development prevailing in the modern world and so the use of child labour is also regarded as a social evil. If this society has democratic form of the government, the use of child labour as a social evil gets more currency in such society. Hence both, the case of child labour as an economic practice and as a social evil co-exist simultaneously in a traditional society. The

use of child labour is in fact regarded as social evil because of the abuse of child labour on a large scale.

Briefly speaking, the use and abuse of child labour is the characteristic of transitional societies which enfold multi-class based social structures and a complex of traditional and pre-capitalist production relations operating under the shadow of the dominant bourgeois ideology and mode of exploitation. This also holds true in respect of Indian society wherein the multi-class social structures exist and a complex of traditional and pre-capitalist production relations operate; as result of which, both the use and abuse of child labour persist simultaneously, despite having a number of legislative and administrative measures to curb the use and abuse of child labour.

1.1 Concept and Theoretical Formulations of Child Labour

The concept of child labour stands for the participation of children (below 14 years age) in labour force for paid or unpaid work. The use of child labour is wide spread in most of the developing (or third world) countries of the world. One among them is India where the concentration of child labour is the highest in the world. The use of child labour assumes the character of a social problem in as much as it hinders assets or distorts the natural growth processes and prevents the child from attending his full-blown manhood.¹

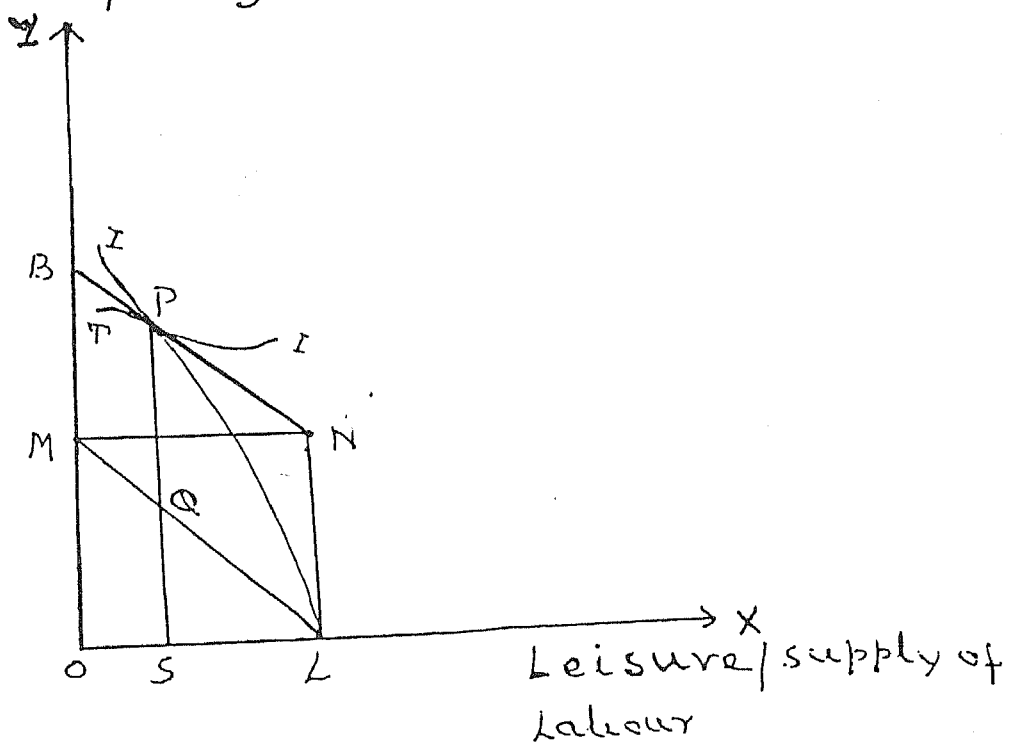
But the irony of the fact is that the supply of child labour in the labour market is a socio-economic reality in India and so the use and abuse of child labour in different industrial activities and occupations.

Why the child labour is supplied in the labour market is the main question to be investigated in the context of the present socio-economic situation prevailing in the country. The neo-classical theory of child labour explains that the household or family supplies child labour in order to maximise its current income from the employment of child labour as a preference to the income expected from that employment in future after the schooling of its children. In other words, the rational behaviour of the household has a scale of preference between the use of its child labour as the source of family income and leisure or sacrifice (which is also a cost) that the family has to incur due to the schooling of children. That is why the household supplies child labour for wage income in the labour market.

Let us explain the above with the help of Hicksian indifference analysis.

Diagram (A)² is constructed on the assumption that the rational behaviour of the head of a given household is concerned with whether he should send his children for work in the labour market for wage income in order to maximise his income utility or send them for schooling (i.e. he should prefer leisure to income for maximising income/utility).

Income/utility



Diagram(a)

Suppose that the head of the family decides to send his children for work as he wants to maximise present income or utility instead of sending them to school because of high opportunity cost involved in choosing schooling or leisure for them. In that case, how he behaves and supplies his child labour is demonstrated in the above diagram.

The vertical axis measures income and utility and the horizontal axis leisure. Hence the labour supply is measured as OL minus leisure. Let us assume that LT is income possibility curve, and MC is given income leisure (or cost) line. This is drawn on the assumption that the employment of child labour, by foregoing leisure, will cause such income possibility curve. If the head of the family, with a given scale of preference, decides to supply LS child labour; then he remains at point P where his indifference curve, II is tangent to the income possibility curve, LT. In that case, he derives PQ (i.e. PS - QS) income and he maximises his utility by supplying child labour in the labour market, as BN is parallel to ML. In this way, the neo-classical formulation of child labour use explains why the households supply child labour for work in the labour market.

The other neo-classical formulations of child labour use by Baker-Lewis,³ Dandekar,⁴ Willis⁵ and Schultz⁶ which also assume 'household' as an optimising and rational decision-making unit, depict children as both consumption and investment goods. Their formulations also analyse 'the determinants of fertility in terms of the relative utilities

of children and other goods and services, with children involving the investment of time and income.⁷ Thus such neo-classical approach explains that the head of the family (or parents) has to decide whether he wants to maximise the present income over the future income from children which involves investment of time and income in educating the children. In fact, many of the households in a developing country like India rationally decides for the present income rather than for the future income which involves high opportunity cost of schooling and investment of time and income in going for the future income. Moreover, the life expectancy of children is also another factor to decide for maximising the present income over the future income. That is why these neo-classicals explain that the households with an objective to maximise present income, supply their children for the use of their labour for work in the labour market and so there is positive relationship between the income from children and their fertility rate. A number of demographic studies on child labour and fertility made in the context of a number of developing countries (such as by Kasarda,⁸ Schultz,⁹ De Vanzo,¹⁰ Manver-Ratszack-Schultz,¹¹ Harman,¹² Cain,¹² Caldwell,¹⁴ and De Tray¹⁵, etc.) show the existence of positive relationship between child labour as a part of labour force and high fertility rate there. The rationale behind all such studies lies in the neo-classical assumption that the rational behaviour of the parents to optimise present income rather future income, which involves

high opportunity cost and investment of time and income with given life expectancy, makes their children enter into labour force and make them decide for more children in the family.

But this micro approach of the neo-classicals fails to comprehend the socio-economic structures of production and distribution in which the households of the so-called neo-classical rational behaviour are reproduced and compelled to supply their child labour for wage income in the labour market.

'Child employment not only reflects economic processes but also depends on normative attitudes towards children in society. The culturally determined roles and functions of children, the values by which the activities of children are judged, and the nature of socialisation processes.¹⁶ Therefore, the exponents of the socialisation theory of child labour use (such as Oppong,¹⁷ Schildkrout',¹⁸ and Mayer¹⁹) explain that the socio-cultural framework, and the social institutions belonging to the agriculture dominated agrarian and peasant societies emit such socio-economic processes whereby the use of child labour is socialised as an integral part of family-oriented social and institutional order. But a historical analysis of the socialisation approach of child labour does not throw light on why the socio-economic processes corresponding to given socio-economic structures of production and distribution that operate and produce child labour in developing countries.

Some of the scholars attribute to the segmentation of labour market and the co-existence of informal (or unorganised sector) with formal (or organised) sector for the creation of such employment conditions and wages in which many households supply child labour for wages in the labour market. The segmentation of labour market into 'sub-markets' is assumed to take place due to emergence and growth of capitalist relations of production because of the differentiation of peasantry and growing proletarianisation of marginal and small farmers and the artisans. In their papers, Kerr²⁰ and Gordon-Edwards²¹ have shown how increasing proletarianisation associated with the growth of labour market leads to segmentation of labour force into 'sub-markets with different employment conditions and wages. The segmentation of labour market is taken to be the basic characteristics of a developing economy undergoing a transitional process of capitalist development wherein the capitalist relations of production emerge and grow in certain activities and areas. In that case, the pre-capitalist production relations of certain varieties also co-exist and enfold such employment conditions and wages wherein many households have to supply their family and child labour for subsistence. The prevalence of such production conditions also keep the wage rate from rising in the economy because of an excess supply of labour.

The existence of sectoral dualism in terms of formal and informal sector (i.e. organised and unorganised sector) is

held to be another theoretical formulation of labour use. It is said that a large part of the developing economy is informal or unorganised and so the households supply their family and child labour either for paid or unpaid work. Hence the existence of sectoral dualism at techno-economic organisational level of production and distribution, being the characteristic of the economy like India, is responsible for the supply of child labour in the labour market.

Why the labour market is segmented and why the sectoral dichotomies like the informal/formal sector or unorganised/organised sector exist in a developing economy remains unexplained in such theoretical formulations of child labour. They are absolutely inadequate for understanding the supply of labour with a given capital that functions at a particular point of time. In fact, the classical political economists sorted out these questions while studying the growth of industrial capital. For instance, Marx demonstrated that growing 'organised' capital maintains three types of relative surplus population, namely 'floating', 'latent' and 'stagnant'. The 'floating' population refers to those workers who perform casual work, shuttling between rural and urban areas. The 'latent' relative population consists of those workers who can be easily released ~~from~~ agriculture due to their precarious disguised existence. The 'stagnant' relative population consists of those workers who belong to domestic industry and constitute a major part of the informal sector in the 'manufacturing' industry.

Therefore, the so-called unorganised or informal sector is nothing but an ending reservoir of the relative surplus labour, characterised as 'floating', 'latent' and 'stagnant' by Marx. Therefore, the Marxian theory of labour process is supposed to present a quite useful understanding for the question of why child labour is supplied for work in the labour market. Marx's analysis of labour process²² (which is constituted of three elements : the personal activity of man, i.e. work it self; the subject of that work, i.e. raw material; and the instruments of labour) shows that the nature of labour process undergoes transformation as capitalism passes through various forms of production, i.e. cooperation, manufacture and factory, i.e. mechino-facture. The nature of labour process in the unorganised or informal sector is that the manufacturing form of production exists and functions at the household level under the control of merchant capital interwoven with industrial capital. As a result, in such sector, comprising of cottage based or domestic industries, the households supply their family and child labour for paid or unpaid work in the labour market. In other words, industrial capital has not still covered the entire gamut of social production leading to generalised commodity production because labour is not completely separated from the means of production but is subsumed under merchant capital, having interwoven with industrial capital.

On the basis of his studies on the development of capitalism in Russia, Lenin explained the character of

manufacture : "under manufacture, merchant's capital was combined with industrial capital. It was interwoven with it in the most diverse ways and the dependence of operatives on the capitalist assumed a host of forms and shades, ranging from work for hire in another person's workshop to work at home for a 'master' and, finally, to dependence in the purchase of raw material or in the sale of the product. At the same time, there always remained a large number of quasi-independent producers under manufacture".²³ This also throws light on the nature of labour process in the merchant capital dominated manufacturing form of production at household level, having tied to the factory form of production. His analysis of the multi-structural system in the context of Russia²⁴ shows how the five socio-economic structures, i.e. patriarchal (mostly peasant farming); small commodity production (this includes the majority of those peasants who sell their grain)' private capitalism with the emergence of small private capital; and socialism; existed in Russia. Each structure has its own forms and relations of production corresponding to its own labour process. The forms and relations of production corresponding to these five structures are antagonistic to each other. But the emergence of small private capital along with state capitalism gets interwoven with merchant capital which dominates the manufacturing form of production and forms a naked form of capitalist exploitation in which the use of women and child labour becomes the rule, the working conditions most insanitary. All this lends to the 'sweating system'. If

such socio-economic system continues to exist, the merchant ~~dominated~~ manufacturing form of production persists and the households, which supply labour, are reproduced in every year.

In fact, the character of state capitalism in association with private industrial capital-cum-merchant capital in the country like India is responsible for the reproduction of many households to supply their family and child labour leading to a naked form of exploitation of such labour which is incorporated into tangible production and the supply of which is extracted by the merchants for realising its exchange value in the market. The glass industry in Ferozabad and the carpet industry in Mirzapur are typical examples in the Indian case where the household form of production is tied upto the factory form of production through merchant capital in regard to the glass industry and merchant dominated manufacturing form of production at the household level with respect to carpet industry in particular.

1.2 Popular Causal Explanation

Children are required to seek employment either to supplement the income of their families or to have a gainful employment in the absence of schooling facilities. The most important cause of child labour in India is wide-spread poverty. Nearly one-third of India's population subsists

below the poverty line. Because of poverty, the parents want their children to fend for themselves as soon as they can, if not generate enough surplus to support the family. The poor parents who have not sufficient income are in need of the earnings from their children. The parents are forced to send their children in the labour market for wage income. The problem of child labour is inter-related to the problem of low wages of adult workers. The low level of wages of adult workers compels them to send their children for some work in return of some wages. As a result, the employer also takes benefit of their weakness by providing work to their children at low wages. In some cases, children seek work because of their adult wage earners are either unemployed or underemployed. Large families with comparatively less income can not give shelter to their children as well as they are unable to provide basic amenities to them. Parents are compelled to send their children to take up wage/quasi-wage employment to the detriment of their health, education and general well-being, mainly due to poor economic conditions and to certain social factors. Absence of any provision for free education is also an important cause of child labour. Compulsory education has no meaning unless the parents are able to meet out the expenditure on education. Similarly, the extremely poor families can not send their children to schools even if there are provisions of free and compulsory education. It appears that economic factor is a crucial factor associated with child labour problem. Due to ignorance and illiteracy, the parents do not understand the future career and the

development of their children. They prefer to sending their children to seek out employment rather than to educate them. The report of Committee on Child Labour also mentioned that "economic compulsions weighed heavily on the consciousness of poor parents that they would not mind colluding with child's employer in violating the law and putting the child under risks in inhuman exploitations. Poverty and child labour thus always beget each other and tend to reinforce themselves in families and communities. Because of their poverty, parents can not make any investment in their child's development, they are also reluctant even to support them. They want their children to fend themselves as early as possible, much better, if they become as source of income to the family.²⁵

The main external force pulling children towards child labour is rooted in the employers' insatiable desire to maximise profit. Child Labour is cheap, docile and not entitled to the benefits which the counterpart adult labour is entitled to. Children have less developed ego and status consciousness. In some cases, children are more active, agile and quick and feel less tired in certain works.

Historically, the institution of child worker has existed since time immemorial. Children have been helping and working with their parents and with their elders. In India, children have been gaining skills and learning their traditional family crafts without any formal training

outside. Some of the important child labour intensive activities in which children are employed include, farming, forestry, animal keeping, goat and sheep rearing, cooking, beedi making, slate industry, match industry, brace industry, lock industry, coir industry, glass industry, diamond industry, incense making, paper bag industry, gem polishing, embroidery, newspaper selling, garment making, carpet weaving and other works.

I.3 Magnitude and Legal Perception of Child Labour

The problem of child labour, being a universal phenomenon, has been engaging the attention of social scientists, trade unions, other social reformers and the government for many decades in our country. Among the countries for which figures have been supplied by the International Labour Organisation, it is found that India has the highest number of children who are employed. During 1975, Asia had the largest share of working children (40 millions) and of these 29 millions of children were at work in South Asia alone. Of the total number of child workers in the work during 1975, nearly one-third were in India alone. The magnitude of the problem of child labour varies widely from country to country. According to ILO estimates, the number of working children in 1980 stood at 80 millions and that is 18 per cent of children in the age group of 10-14 years were working. This ratio for developing countries was found to be over 21 per cent. The ILO statistics on child

labour cover only children between the age group of 10-14 years. Actually, working children under 10 years of age too constitute a significant proportion of the work-force in many developing countries. In India children are found working even in the early age of 5-6 years in different sectors of the economy.

India's population as per 1971 Census was 548.2 million. Of this 230.3 million (42.03 per cent) were children in the age group of 0-14 years. Out of 230.3 millions children in India 10.74 millions were enumerated as workers, registering 4.66 per cent of the total population in 1971. According to 1981 Census, there were 13.59 millions working children in India. Among the total workers in India, the child labour were 5 per cent in the main workers and 11 per cent in the marginal workers in 1981. In the case of Uttar Pradesh, child labour constituted 4 per cent in the main workers and 10.27 per cent in the marginal workers. The National Sample Survey Organisation (1983) estimated it at 17.36 millions. The Operational Research Group, Baroda puts the figure as 44 millions. Due to mechanisation of agriculture, depletion of cottage industries and lack of productive assets in the hands of poor families a large number of farm hands are being squeezed out of this sector and forced to migrate either in small towns or in urban centres.

In 1975, following the National Policy Resolution for Children 1974, a National Children's Board was constituted with the Prime Minister of India as its President. The main

objective of creating this Board was to bring about greater awareness and promote the welfare of children and to plan, review and coordinate programmes and services directed at children - including working children. To review the implementation of existing legislation and to suggest further legislation, the government established a Special Central Advisory Board on Child Labour in 1981.

Article 24 of Indian Constitution provides that "no" child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or **engaged** in any hazardous employment. Similarly, Article 39(e) and (f) of the Directive Principles of State Policy requires the state to direct its policy towards securing that the health and strength of workers, men, women and the tender age of children are not abused and the "children are given opportunities and facilities to develop in a healthy climate and are protected against exploitation. In India the universalisation of primary education and the eradication of child labour are the two issues that have received serious attention from the Government since the adoption of our Constitution.

At the global level there have been several efforts to tackle the child labour problem and the eradication of child labour. The Twenty-third Session of the International Labour Conference 1973, had adopted a convention in which a special article for India was inserted, fixing the minimum age at which children be employed or may work in certain

occupations. The United Nations General Assembly adopted on the 21st December 1976, the Resolution 31/169 proclaiming the year 1979 as the International Year of the Child. The objective behind this Resolution was to create world-wide consciousness towards promoting the well-being of children, draw an attention to their special needs and encouraging national action on behalf of children, particularly, for the least privileged and those who were at work. The decision of United Nations to observed 1979 as the International year of the child has once again focussed world attention on the problem of child labour. The ILO study points out that the world's army of working children under 15 years of age has reached the size of about the entire population of France or Great Britain.

Though various regulations and legislations were passed on behalf of government to protect children from their exploitation by way of employing them in the hazardous industries. In spite of several measures and efforts, child labour remains prevalent in many sectors of Indian economy. It seems that the magnitude of child labour is increasing day by day. The following are the main enactments dealing with employment of children:

1. The Children (Pledging of Labour) Act, 1933
2. The Employment of Children Act, 1938
3. The Minimum Wage Act, 1948
4. The Factories Act, 1948

5. The Plantation Labour Act, 1951
6. The Merchant Shipping Act, 1958
7. The Motor Transport Workers Act, 1961
8. The Apprentices Act, 1961
9. The Atomic Energy Act, 1962
10. The Beedi and Cigar Workers (Condition & Employment) Act, 1966
11. The Shops and Establishment Act in Various States
12. Child Labour Act (Prohibition and Regulation), 1986.

Act

In 1986, the Child Labour/(Prohibition and Regulation) 1986 was passed, which is the result of government's serious concern on the problem of child labour. The provisions of the Act make the employment of children prohibitory, in certain specified hazardous occupations below the 14 years of age. These occupations include among others, rail and road transport, bidi (cigarette) making, the manufacturing of shellac matches, cement, soap, explosive and fire-works, mica cutting and splitting, building and construction works, factories plantations and merchant shipping, which are considered hazardous for health and development of children. The Act also contains provisions to regulate the working conditions in occupations permitted by it to employ children, and the role of health and safety measures are mentioned.

The recent re-assessment of Government policy on child labour aims at identifying the most effective way of dealing with the problem under the given conditions. The main conditions under this policy include:

- A. Identification of factors economic, cultural and other responsible for high incidence of child labour;
- B. examining the conditions where children work alone rather than those work in their own family;
- C. Identification of occupations where it is difficult to prohibit the employment of children and provide better working conditions;
- D. to rehabilitate those children removed from prohibited occupations; and
- E. making efforts to strengthen income and employment generating programmes and education, health, nutritional and vocational training schemes in areas with high concentration of child labour.

With these considerations, the Social Welfare and Nutrition Division of Planning Commission, Government of India, envisaged to undertake a study in various states of the country to identify the region-specific factors for high incidence of child labour in different districts, both rural and urban based.

I.4 Glass Industry in Ferozabad

Ferozabad is world-wide known for glass making and bangle manufacturing work. Ferozabad, which was a part of Agra district, came into existence on June 1989. Different kinds of glass products are manufactured in Ferozabad which are used for from Kitchen to Scientific laboratories. On the basis of different activities and kinds of glass products, the glass industry in Ferozabad can be classified into following categories:

1. Glass-ware Industry
2. Glass Bangle Industry
3. Glass Block Making Industry
4. Glass Beads Industry
5. Glass Pottery Industry

At present there are about 600 glass manufacturing industries in the district which are engaged in making different items of glass work. These industries are located in different localities of the town and in its sub-burbs. Generally, the glass and bangle manufacturing works are done in industrial sheds and at household level. However, the main activity (primary level) related to glass works is done at factory level. In this way, the glass industry is broadly found to be of two types : (a) those which have factory form of manufacturing production; and (b) those which have household form of production. On the basis of discussions with district level officials related to glass industry, leaders of trade unions, other functionaries engaged in child labour welfare, common people, and according to our field observations, it is estimated that 30,000 children are employed in the glass industry at the factory level. In addition, the number of children engaged at household level is estimated to be about two and a half times more than the number of children working in the factory premises. The ratio of child workers to the total workers employed in glass industry comes about 35 to 40 per cent. The ratio varies

from one glass industry to another, depending upon the category of the glass industry.

The officials of the glass factories reported that they did not employ child labour, though we found children working there inside the factory sheds. It was very difficult to interview children working in factories because the factory owners as well as child workers were very much scared of meeting the outsiders. The factory owners were scared because of the legalistic reasons and the government officials and the children were afraid of losing their jobs. The concentration and proportion of child workers were at higher side in the glass-ware industry and the bangle industry as compared to other categories of glass industry.

The household form of production is tied up to the factory form of production in the sense that the glass and bangle work in particular at the household level is operated on the basis of the sub-contractual labour process of production. The units operating at household are supplied with semi-finished products and then they supply these products after having finished to the factory owners on the basis of either fixed wage rate payment or piece rate payment. In between the factory and household form of production, there are intermediaries who act as the contractual link between these forms of production. In other words, the two sets of production system, i.e. formal and informal are being operated in the glass industry in Ferozabad.

Glass industry is one of the most hazardous and health injurious industries in the country where a number of children are working. Different kinds of work in various operations are done by the children in the glass manufacturing process. It has been observed that children even at the age of 5 years are seen working in different processes of glass production. As has been mentioned earlier the glass bangle industry is one of the categories of glass manufacturing industries in Ferozabad. Some of the activities are more profitable for the employers, as the child workers perform them at low wages in a shorter period of time than the adult workers. The efficiency in child workers is also found many times higher than in the adult workers.

The main activities which are done by child workers in glass bangle industry are JURAI (joining the ends), CHHATAI (soring), KATAI (engraving of different patterns with the help of abrasive wheels), PAKAI (heating), packaging, counting and sorting out.

The other categories of glass industries, children are engaged in making electric bulbs (by blowing), cleaning the glass apparatus, marking the trade mark on the products, shining the manufactured glass products, sorting out the defective pieces of glass products, collecting the melted glass from the main boiling points with the help of iron rods and helping the main workers in other operations of glass manufacturing production. Though, some of the operations

carried out by the children in glass manufacturing industry do not seem hazardous, but they have to work in a high temperature surroundings them which is injurious to their health.

1.5 The Objectives of the Study

In view of the high incidence of child labour in glass manufacturing industry at Ferozabad, it becomes imperative to examine the factors responsible for the high incidence of child workers employed in the glass industry. Therefore, the main objectives of the present study are the following :

- (a) to identify those households which supply their child labour;
- (b) to investigate the question of why the households supply their child labour for wages in the glass industry at Ferozabad;
- (c) how and why the child labour is used in the industry;
- (d) to understand the perception and attitude of the working children about their work and use;
- (e) to analyse the implications of child labour use or abuse on their physical development and health; and
- (f) to study the extent to which the child labour is legally protected with social and welfare measures adopted by the Government as per the Indian Constitution, and different labour laws.

In view of the above objectives, of the present study, the following are examined :

- (1) the socio-economic profile of the project area;
- (2) the socio-economic background of the households that supply child labour;
- (3) the socio-economic conditions of working children and their labour use;
- (4) physical development and health of the working children, and social infrastructures and utilisation;
- (5) legal status of the working children and difficulties in their protection.

I.6 Sample Design and Methodology

In order to examine the above objectives of the study, 500 households that supply child labour were selected on a random basis. In fact, 500 working children belong to these households. These children were selected because of two reasons. Firstly, they work in different glass factories and at the household; and secondly, it was difficult to conduct survey of the children in different factories because of refusal and non-cooperation of the factory owners in allowing us to do so. Moreover, all of them denied that they used child labour. All these households and working children were surveyed on the basis of structured questionnaire schedule a. Moreover, 20 glass factories were selected on the basis of stratified proportionate random sampling and structured questionnaire schedules were convassed to collect desired and relavant informations from them. An interview method was also used to collect relevant informations regarding child labour from the concerned government officials and other functionaries like voluntary organisations and trade unions,

if existed any there. However, the participant observation method was also applied to collect relevant observations from the employers, Government officials and other relevant functionaries.

Some relevant data from the secondary published and unpublished sources were also collected for the study purpose.

1.7 Chapter Plan

The present study contains the following chapters:

- I Introduction which deals with the question of child labour at different angles; and the area, scope, objectives and sample design and methodology of the study.
- II A socio-economic profile of the project area where the study was conducted.
- III The nature and form of production in the glass industry and its working conditions.
- IV The socio-economic background of the households which supply labour.
- V The socio-economic conditions in which the children work and the perception and attitude of working children concerning their work.

- VI Physical development of the working children, the health hazards they face, the availability of social infrastructures and awareness among them to derive benefits.
- VII Legal status of the working children and their protection.
- VIII Conclusions and suggestions.

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CHAPTER II

A Socio-Economic Profile of Ferozabad

Ferozabad was one of the tehsils of Agra district. It was created as a district separate from Agra on 5th June, 1989. This new district was composed of some parts of Agra and some parts of Mainpuri district. At present, there are three tehsils and nine Development Blocks in the district. Ferozabad, Jasrana and Shikohabad are names of the three tehsils and the names of the nine development blocks are Ferozabad, Narkhee, Tundla, Jasrana, Eaka, Khairgarh, Shikohabad, Madanpur and Arao. The district of Ferozabad is bounded by Etah district in North, Etawah and Mainpuri in East, Jamuna river in South and Agra in West.

Ferozabad district has a total geographical area of 2352 sq. kms. About one-sixth of the total area consists of the Jamuna ravines which were quite famous for producing thatching, grass and a little stunted timber. All these characteristics of nature-bound production are still found, despite having areas gradually brought under the cultivation of some rabi and other millet crops like jowar, bajra and maize etc. The rest is a fertile tract of upland soil, with a few patches of usar, dhak jungle (Butea Fondosa), and here there sandy ridges.

II.1 Population and Occupation

The total population of Ferozabad district was 12.60 lakhs in 1981 which increased at the rate of 19.27 per cent during 1971-81. This rate of growth of population was lower than the rate of 25.49 per cent at which the total population of the state grew during the same period. About 76 per cent of the total population is rural. A little more than 24 per cent of the total population lives in 8 towns of the district (such as Ferozabad, Tundala, Shikohabad, etc.). The proportion of urban population to the total population of the district is higher than such proportion belonging to the state. The district has 797 villages in which three-fourth of the people reside in the district.

Table 2.1 : Population Size-wise Distribution of Villages in Ferozabad

Population Size-Group (in persons)	Number of Villages
1. Below 200	43 (5.41)
2. 200 - 499	164 (20.58)
3. 500 - 999	262 (32.87)
4. 1000 - 1999	210 (26.35)
5. 2000 - 4999	102 (12.79)
6. 5000+	16 (2.00)
All	797 (100.00)

The population size-wise distribution of villages shows that 5.41 per cent and 2 per cent of the total number of villages belong to the smallest and largest size of population in the district respectively. A little more than 59 per cent of the total villages do not have population size less than 500 and more than 2000. About 21 per cent of them have a population size of 200 to 499. The same table shows that 41 per cent of the total villages have not less than 1000 population. In this way, the villages are relatively big in size.

The district has higher density of population than that of the state. The sex-ratio is 774 in the district, while it is 885 in the state as a whole. The scheduled castes and tribes population constitute 20 per cent of the total population in the district. The literates constitute 33.17 per cent of the total population. Thus the rate of literacy is higher than what is found in the state as a whole. The most striking feature of literacy is the female literacy rate which is about 19 per cent of the total female population which is quite higher than the state's female literacy rate. However, the male literates constitute about 45 per cent of the total male population in the district which is also higher than their counterpart at the state level.

The occupational characteristics of population in Ferozabad district, as presented in Table 2.2, show that the total workers constitute 27.22 per cent of its total population.

Table 2.2 : Demographic and Occupational Characteristics
of Ferozabad District

	Ferozabad	U. P.
1. Population size (in lakhs)	12.60	1108.62
2. Population Growth (in %) (1971-81)	23.80	25.49
3. % of Total Population : a) Rural	75.63	82.05
b) Urban	24.37	17.95
4. SC & ST as % of Population	20.00	21.42
5. Density of Population	412	377
6. Sex-Ratio	774	858
7. Literates as % of Total Population	33.17	27.16
a) Male	44.99	38.76
b) Female	18.88	14.04
8. Workers as % of Total Population	27.22	30.72
a) Main	27.13	29.23
b) Marginal	0.09	1.49
9. % of Main Workers as :		
a) Cultivators	49.54	58.52
b) Agricultural Labourers	11.30	15.98
c) Household Industry, Manufacturing	2.69	3.70
d) Other workers	37.47	21.80

Source : Based on 1981 Census.

The state picture indicates that about 31 per cent of the total population are the workers. The main and marginal workers constitute 27.13 per cent and 3.09 per cent of the total population in the district. This means that most of the workers get employment for more than 184 days in a year. About 50 per cent of the main worker are cultivators and this proportion is lower than the state-level percentage of the total population as cultivators. The agricultural labourers constitute 11.30 per cent of the district total main workers which is quite below the state average. A little more than 36 per cent of the main workers are in the category of other workers which is much higher than what is reported in the state as a whole. About 3 per cent of the main workers in Ferozabad district are engaged in the household industry which is near to the state average. What all this shows is the importance of non-agricultural activities wherein a sizeable portion of the workforce is employed. However, agriculture along with household industry provides employment for about 64 per cent of the total number of the main workers in the district.

II.3 Land Use and Agriculture

Ferozabad district has a total reporting area of 2.34 lakh hectares, of which the total cultivable area is 1.84 lakh hectares. This means that 69.48 per cent of the total reporting area of the district is cultivable and the rest includes forest area, usar and non-culturable land, permanent

Table 2.3 : Land Use and Agriculture in Ferozabad

	Ferozabad	U. P. ('000 hect.)
1. Total reporting area (in ha.) (1988-89)	234403	29768
2. Total cultivable area (in ha.)	183712	20101
3. Net sown area (in ha.)	168872	17232
4. Area sown more than once (in ha.)	76901	8114
5. Gross cropped area (in ha.)	245773	25346
6. Net irrigated area (in ha.)	145323	10332
7. Gross irrigated area (in ha.)	222224	14375
8. Average size of holding (in ha.) of	1.52	0.93
9. % of total number/holdings under marginal and small holdings	75.09	72.60
10. % of total operated area under marginal and small holdings	35.32	51.60
11. Average size of marginal holdings (in ha.)	0.42	0.36

Sources :

- a) Statistical Diary of Ferozabad, 1990, Bureau of Economics and Statistical, Government of U.P.
- b) District-wise Indicators of Development, Area Planning, Division, SPI, Government of U.P., 1986.
- c) Statistical Diary of U.P., Government of U.P., 1990.

Notes : Figures relating to 1 to 7 refer to 1988-89 period and those from 8 to 11 refer to 1980-81 Agricultural Census of Holdings (Agra, Board of Revenue)

fallow etc. However, the area under forests is only about 3.47 per cent of the total area of the district. In other words, a large part of the non-cultivable area constitutes about 31 per cent of the total reporting area of the district due to the existence of a vast tract of the Jamuna ravine area, usar/banjar land, sandy ridges and permanent fallow land.

The rural people of the district who hold and operate land for different agricultural purposes have, by and large, marginal and small operational holdings with an average size of 1.52 hectares in the district. The average size of holding is 0.93 hectare in the state in general. The total number of marginal and small holdings constitutes 75 per cent of the total number of holdings in the district which is above the state average of 72.60 per cent. But the proportion of total area under marginal and small holdings to the total operated area of the district under all types of holdings is 35.32 per cent, while it is almost 51 per cent in the state as a whole. The average size of marginal holdings is 0.42 in the district, while it is 0.36 in the state in general. All this briefly indicates that the pattern of land distribution is more unequal in the district than in the state. Table 2.3 shows that the use of land under cultivable area is intensive as the total cropped area is more than the total cultivable area of the district. Moreover the intensity of cropping is also 146. The area sown more than once (i.e. 0.76 lakh hectares) constitutes about 46 per cent

and 31.28 per cent of the total net sown and gross cropped area of the district respectively. All this is found to be above the state average. The extent of irrigation shows a very high proportion of the net sown and gross cropped area under irrigation. A little more than 86 per cent of 168872 hectares of net sown area is irrigated and 90.48 per cent of 245773 hectares of the gross cropped area are irrigated in Ferozabad district. These two proportions are quite higher than those belonging to U.P. as a whole. A major part of the irrigated area is by the canals and tubewells in the district.

The characteristics of input use and agricultural development (please see Table 2.4) show that the area under commercial crops constitute 13.2 per cent of the total cropped area of the district. The intensity of cropping is about 146 due to a very high proportion of irrigated area.

The agricultural sector of the district appears to be developed one as some of the indicators of development in terms of productivity and input use indicate. The consumption of fertilizers per hectare is 74.4 kgs. and the level of mechanisation is also high. The per tractor and per private tubewell gross cropped area are 209.35 and 18.72 hectares respectively. The per iron plough and improved plough-cultivator gross cropped area is 7.27 hectares in the district.

Table 2.4 : Input Use and Level of Agricultural Development in Ferozabad

1. percentage of total area under commercial crops	13.2
2. Intensity of cropping	145.53
3. Per ha. consumption of fertilizers (in kg.)	74.20
4. Percentage of Consumption of electricity in agriculture to total consumption	31.60
5. Consumption of Electricity Per Hectare of Net Sown Area (in KWHs)	649.30
6. Per tractor gross cropped area (in hectares)	209.35
7. Per tubewell gross cropped area (in hectares)	18.72
8. Per pumpset gross cropped area (in hectares)	12.47
9. Per iron plough-cum-improved cultivators gross cropped area (in hectares)	7.27
10. Per improved sowing machine gross cropped area (in hectares)	15.38
11. Average yield of foodgrains (in quintals)	18.60
12. Gross value of Agricultural Produce (in Rs.)	
(a) Per hectare of net sown area	7128
(b) Per capita (rural)	1262

Source : Statistical Diary of 1990, Ferozabad, Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Govt. of U.P.

The per improved sowing machine gross cropped area is 15.38 hectares. All these indicators of input use in the district reflect a somewhat high level of mechanisation in agriculture.

The gross value of agricultural produce (at current prices) per hectare of net sown area is Rs.7128 and per head of the rural population is Rs.1262. In this way, all these characteristics of input use and agricultural development show that the district has rich agricultural background, although it may not have so rich as other districts of West U.P. could indicate.

II.4 Animal Husbandry and Livestock

Animal husbandry is an allied agricultural activity which is not only a source of income and employment but also a part of assets and wealth. Table 2.5 shows that the total livestock per 100 hectares of the reporting area is 255 and per thousand of population is 474. The number of milch bovine is 11.30. In Ferozabad, the rate of increase in livestock has been 17.17 per cent in 1987 over 1982.

The statistical Diary of Ferozabad, 1990 reports the existence of 6 poultry farms. This implies that poultry enterprise has not developed in the district. However, the number of poultry per thousand of population is 19.40.

Table 2.5 : Some Development Indicators of Animal Husbandry in Ferozabad

1. (a) Rate of increase in total livestock (1982-87)	17.17
(b) No. of livestock per thousand reporting area	255
2. No. of livestock per thousand of population	474
3. No. of milch bovine per thousand of population	11.30
4. No. of poultry per thousand of population	19.40
5. No. of veterinary hospitals	12
6. No. of livestock development centres	31

Source : Statistical Diary of 1990, Ferozabad.

The district has 12 veterinary hospitals and 31 livestock development centres. This implies that the district has yet to develop animal husbandry as an enterprise.

II.5 Industrial Enterprises and Development

According to the Economic Census of U.P., Ferozabad district has 44306 enterprises, the majority of which are non-agricultural (i.e. 97.47 per cent). The total number of these enterprises constitute about 2 per cent of the total number of enterprises (i.e. 26,41,191) of the state. The

number of establishments employing more than one paid workers is 25.32 per cent of the total number of enterprises belonging to Ferozabad and the rest do not employ hired labour but have self-employment.

The district has 84 registered small scale, medium and large factories which are, by and large, located in Ferozabad town. The average number of workers per registered factory is about 51 only. But the number of workers - whether wage labour or self-employed - per enterprise is only about 3. However, the number of wage or paid or hired workers per establishment is 5.14. The number of workers in registered factories per lakh of population is 1334.

The number of hired workers per lakh of population is 3761 in the district. The share of the manufacturing sector to the total net output of the district (inclusive of Agra) is 35.40 per cent. The industrial output per capita (inclusive of Agra) is about Rs.1097 as per 1985-86 reference year. The district of Ferozabad has two industrial estates in 1989-90 wherein there are 9 shops in operation with the distribution of 107 plots. In all, 3900 persons are employed and output worth of Rs.505 thousand is produced. The operation of non-agricultural activities is significant in the district which contribute a significant part of income and employment to the total income and output and employment of the district.

Table 2.6 : Industrial Enterprises and Development
in Ferozabad

1. No. of enterprises	44306
a) Agricultural	1120 (2.53)
b) Non-agricultural	43186 (97.47)
2. No. of establishments with	
a) One or more than one paid workers (i.e. hired)	11218 (25.32)
b) Self-employed	33088 (74.68)
3. No. of total workers	122300
a) Paid workers	57626 (39.94)
b) Self-employed	74674 (61.06)
4. No. of registered factories	84
5. No. of workers in registered factories	4257
6. No. of workers per enterprise	2.76
7. No. of paid workers per establishment (employing hired wage labour)	5.14
8. Share of manufacturing sector to total net output	35.40
9. No. of workers per registered factories	50.68
10. No. of workers in registered factories per one lakh of population	1334
11. No. of paid workers per lakh of population	3761

II.6 Infrastructural Facilities

The availability of some basic infrastructural facilities and the accessibility of the people to them are one of the essential conditions for development. Table 2.7

Table 2.7 : Indicators of Infrastructural Development
in Ferozabad

1. Length of road per 1000 sq. kms. of the geographical area	331.94
2. Length of road per lakh of population (kms.)	62.20
3. Length of railway line per 1000 sq. kms. of the total area	22.44
4. No. of post & telegraph and telephone offices per lakh of population	0.50+236.40
5. No. of schools & colleges per lakh of population	
(a) Junior basic schools	63.30
(b) Senior basic schools	15.90
(c) Higher secondary schools	6.80
(d) Degree colleges	0.80
6. No. of allopathic hospitals/dispensaries/ primary health centres per lakh of popu- lation	2.90
7. Average population per family and maternity-cum-child welfare centre	5340
8. No. of cold storage per 1000 sq. kms.	4.70
9. No. of primary agricultural credit societies per lakh of population	6.30
10. No. of land development banks per lakh of population	0.20
11. No. of agricultural marketing soceties per lakh of population	0.10

Source : Statistical Diary of Ferozabad, 1990.

presents some of the indicators of infrastructural development in the district.

The means of transport like rail and road are important component of social overhead capital which facilitates the movements of labour, capital and commodity. Table 2.7 shows that the length of road per 1000 sq. kms. of the geographical area and per lakh of population are 331.94 and 62.20 kms. respectively. The length of railway line per 1000 sq. kms. of the total area is 22.44 kms. in the district. The post and telegraph offices are also important public utilities which play an important role in the movements of capital and commodity. The same table indicates that the number of post and telegraph and telephones offices per lakh of population are 0.5 and 236.4 respectively.

The facilities for education and medical-cum-health are an another essential part of infrastructures. Table 2.7 indicates that there are 63.30 junior basic schools, 15.90 senior basic schools, 6.8 higher secondary schools and 0.8 degree college per lakh of population in the district. The teacher-student ratios are 40 in junior basic schools, 32 in senior basic schools, 24 in higher secondary schools and 47 in degree colleges.

So far health and medical facilities are concerned, it is found that the district has 2.9 allopathic hospitals/dispensaries and primary health centres per lakh of population. It has a population of 5340 per family and child

welfare centre. Health and medical infrastructures do not present satisfactory level of development in the district.

Ferozabad district having rural with agriculture as the basic source of livelihood, shows that the marketing and other required institutional facilities are yet to grow and develop more for agricultural development. The number of cold storage per 1000 sq. kms. is about 5, the number of agricultural credit societies per lakh of population is 6.3, the number of agricultural marketing societies per lakh of population is 0.1, and the number of Land Development Bank per lakh of population is 0.2 in the district.

The Statistical Diary of Ferozabad, 1990 shows that a majority of villages (i.e., about 83 per cent of the total villages) are more than 5 kms. away from the centres

Table 2.8 : District-wise Distribution of Villages from the Centres of Main Social Infrastructural Facilities

Distance (in Kms.)	Villages =====	
	No.	Per cent
1. Within Village	7	0.88
2. Upto 1 km.	7	0.88
3. 1 to 3 km.	30	3.76
4. 3 to 5 km.	93	11.66
5. 5 kms +	660	82.81
All	797	100.00

wherein the main social infrastructural facilities are available. There are 14 villages which are located within 0 to 1 km. distance from the places where these facilities are available. The rest (i.e. 123) are 1 to 5 kms. away from such places. All this shows that most of the villages do not have easy physical accessibility to the basic social infrastructural facilities provided in the district by the State Government.

II.7 District Plan

The newly constructed district of Ferozabad needs concrete planning for the development of basic infrastructure in each sector. Due to lack of base line data for the district it seems very difficult to identify the areas of preference in its development. To make more effective the district plan, the following objectives are given due consideration during the year 1991-92 :

- a) to increase employment opportunities;
- b) to remove unemployment and to increase production; and
- c) eradication of poverty.

For the purpose of rural development, Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, and Small and Marginal Farmers Yojana, Rs.70,50,000, Rs.77,11,000 and Rs.53,86,000 respectively have been sanctioned. To increase agricultural production a special emphasis has been given to develop irrigation facilities and an amount of Rs.2375 thousands will be spent. In addition to this an amount of Rs.5,95,000 has been set aside for agricultural protection and horticulture programme. It is

expected that employment opportunities will be increased and 12770 mandays will be generated. The amount of Rs.11,97,000, Rs.2,92,000 and Rs.1,70,000 have been kept for animal husbandry, dairy development and fisheries respectively. As a result of this investment, it is expected that 24600 mandays employment will be generated. Social forestry and panchayat forestry have also been given special consideration in the district plan.

Minimum Needs Programme has been given main emphasis in the district plan under which a provision of Rs.4,08,94,000 has been sanctioned for primary education, adult education, rural health, rural drinking water, rural roads, homes for poor households in the rural areas. Under these programmes 4,08,94,000 mandays will be generated.

For annual plan (1991-92) of the district the following are the fund resources :

Name of the Sources	Amount ('000 Rs.)
District plan item	83,168
IRDP	7,050
Small and Marginal Farmers Programmes	5,386
Jawahar Rozgar Yojana	30,844
Institutional Finance	48,830
Central Government	455
Public Share	188
State Sector	4,000
Total	1,79,921

The district plans of 1991-92 seems to have launched an ambition for rural development and its related activities. Various studies on the rural development programmes made in the past show a somewhat disappointing picture about their success and desired achievements due to their in-built organisational and administrative leakages.

Briefly speaking, the agricultural sector of the district, which is the main source of production and employment, is not backward, if it is compared with other districts of the state belonging to the region other than the Western one. As a result, non-agricultural activities appear to be significant in the district economy of Ferozabad which contribute significantly to the process of generating income and employment. But from the point of view of social infrastructural development, most of the villages do not have easy accessibility to the facilities as reported to be in the district. This means that there is lack of social infrastructural development in the rural areas of the district. How far the district plan would realise its targets in actuality is the question related to the organisation and the delivery system of the programmes for rural development.

CHAPTER III

Glass Industry in Ferozabad

Ferozabad is well known for its glass industry. All kinds of glass products are manufactured there that include right from scientific instruments to tumblers, decorative pieces, bangle for domestic uses and consumption.

The history of its origin in Ferozabad is not exactly known. However, the history of the industry is traced back to the period of the Great Emperor, Akbar. Before Akbar, there was no Ferozabad but an area densely covered with forests. When Todar Mal, the Revenue Minister of Akbar, was passing through this area from Ganga (after paying tributes to his ancestors) to Delhi, he was robbed there. Then Ferozeshah, one of the security in-charge of Akbar's court was sent to catch hold of the robbers, camped there and settled a satellite village. On the request of local people residing there Ferozshah named the place after his own name as Ferozabad.

While camping there, some sheeshgrahs (i.e. glass makers) started manufacturing glass from locally available 'reh' i.e. silica at the cottage level in Ferozabad village. The Muslims were primarily engaged in this work who were called as 'sheeshgrahs' and later on, some Hindus also joined who were called as 'Kancher'. Later on, Akbar encouraged this work for royal purposes. It is also said

that Begam Mumtaz used to take interest in suggesting the design and varieties of bangles at the time of Shahjahan.

But the history of modern glass making work is not very old. It started with the imagination of Ustad Rustam in the twentieth century by innovative minds and efforts. That is why he is known as 'Adam' of bangles.¹ Not only bangles are made in Ferozabad but all types of products and now it is full of glass factories and workshops.

III.2 Units and Size of Glass Industry

The glass industry in Ferozabad is reported to have 539 units in which about 28 thousand persons are employed. The annual turn-over of glass manufactured tradings is about rupees two thousand crores. Table 2.1 shows that about 64 per cent of the total number of units do not employ more than 50 persons. The industrial units that constitute about 17 per cent of the total number of units in the glass industry of Ferozabad, employ from 100 persons to 300+ persons. Thus the employment size-wise distribution of the glass industrial units indicates that a majority of them are not being in size but small.

Some of the units are also in the category of small scale and medium scale industry, having the status of

1. Pravesh, G.L.P., Ferozabad Ka Parichay, 1962, Ferozabad.

Table 3.1 : Industrial Units and Their Size-wise Distribution in Ferozabad

Size Groups in Towns of Persons Employed	Units		Employment	
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
1. (10	252	46.7	1521	5.5
2. 10 - 25	63	11.7	1023	3.6
3. 25 - 50	24	4.4	997	3.7
4. 50 - 75	25	4.6	1639	5.8
5. 75 - 100	86	15.9	7968	28.5
6. 100 - 150	68	12.6	8654	30.9
7. 150 - 200	7	1.3	1269	4.5
8. 200 - 300	5	0.9	1287	4.6
9. 300 +	9	1.7	36.09	12.9
All	539	100.0	27965	100.0

Source : Industrial Directory of Ferozabad, 1990, by the District Industries Centre, Feroabad.

registered factories under the 1948 Factories Act. How many of them are registered factories, this information is not given in the Industrial Directory of Ferozabad. At the time of field survey, it was gathered that the number of industrial units was much more than the number recorded in the Directory of Ferozabad. Hence the number of persons engaged in the glass industry is said to be many times of the number recorded in the Industrial Directory.

One study² shows that 50,000 children are engaged in this industry. In fact, about 2.5 lakhs workers are estimated to be engaged in this industry and over 50,000 are only children engaged in this industry. Therefore, the informations recorded in the Industrial Directory do not tell actual story of the glass industry and its employment magnitude.

III.3 Nature and Form of Production

The glass industry is broadly of two types : (a) those industrial units which have factory form of production; and (b) those which have household form of production. The household form of production is, however, tied to the factory form of production in the sense that the glass and bangle work at the household level is operated on the basis of sub-contractual mode of employment. The units operating at the household level are supplied with semi-finished products and then they supply those products after having finished to the factory owners or those who own workshops/sheds in Ferozabad on the basis of piece wages. In between the factory and household forms of production, there are intermediaries who act as a contractual link between the factory owner/manager and glass and bangle artisans at the household level. In other words, there co-exist and co-operate simultaneously two

2. Gathia, J., 'Child Workers in Industries', Journal of Educational Planning and Administration, January, 1990, p.3

sets of production system, i.e., formal and informal, in the glass industry of Ferozabad.

All this highlights the importance and significance of the glass industry in the process of output, income and employment generation in Ferozabad. The dual form of production and involvement of a large number of children in the industry also present a picture of sadness at socio-economic front of Ferozabad.

III.4 Working Conditions in Glass Industry

Glass industry is one of the hazardous industries where thousands of the child workers are employed. Ferozabad is world-wide known for glass making and bangle manufacturing work. The manufacturing processes in glass industry are done in industrial sheds as well as at the household level. However, the main operations related to glass works are performed at factory level.

To understand the glass industry in terms of working pattern, employment structure, extent of child employment, working hours, wage levels, payments of wages, record keeping, facility provided by employers for skill development, working conditions and environment, common occupational hazards, safety measures taken by employers, frequencies of accidents and compensation and other matters related to labour legislations, the informations were collected from the employers of selected industries through a

structured scheduled questionnaire. In this context, 20 employers were randomly selected from different categories of glass manufacturing industries on the basis of proportionate stratified random sample. The industries which were selected as sample were both old and new. The year of establishment of sample industries varied from 1910 to 1989. On an average, the industries in the sample are manufacturing the glass items for the last 24 years.

According to the information collected from the employers/ managers, it was recorded that at the initial stage, per industry, the number of workers were 267, inclusive of 23 child workers. At present this figure has gone upto 454 including 75 child workers, showing an increase of more than 70 per cent. The proportion of child labour was 8.44 per cent in the total workers at the initial stage while at present 16.54 per cent workers are children. However, some of the employers did not report any child workers. About three-fourths of the employers reported the employment of child labour in their industrial units. The lowest age of child workers in the industries is 8 years in case of male child and 10 years for female child according to information collected from the employers. About 30 per cent of the employers reported that the glass manufacturing work was done in three shifts and child workers were employed in all the shifts. However, 75 per cent of the employers reporting child workers pointed out that child workers were employed only in morning shift. Generally, the duration of work for

child workers was 6 hours per day. Over time work was also taken from the child workers in the case of 75 per cent of the glass manufacturing establishments. The wage rates for over time work done by child workers was found same as the normal wage rates. About 25 per cent of the employers also reported the working of child labour at night. However, there is no special wages for working at night.

Data collected from the employers regarding wage structure in the glass manufacturing industries indicates variations in wages among the workers. Depending on the nature of work, experience, skill, risk and capability, there have been differentials in the wages among the workers. The wage rates of child workers are 5 to 7 times lower than the wage rates of adult workers. The wages of male adult workers vary from Rs.20 to Rs.300 per day while it is Rs.5 to Rs.40 per day for male child workers. Similarly daily wage, for female adult worker varied from Rs.15 to Rs.40 against Rs.5 to Rs.10 for female child workers. The wages are paid only in cash, as no case of payment in kind was reported. The employers reported that the wages were paid directly to the child workers.

Employment of children in the glass industry for some certain activities is generally preferred by the employers due to obvious reasons. Children are available at lower wages and they do not have bargaining power. There are certain manufacturing operations which are most suitable for children and they perform the job at a faster rate than the

adult workers. There are several other reasons for employers to engage children in the glass industries. Children are traditionally employed in the glass industries by the employers. It is not a new phenomenon. Data regarding the trend of child employment during last five years indicates that the magnitude of child workers has increased as reported by 66.6 per cent of the employers. However, 20 per cent of the employers pointed out that the number of child workers decreased during the last five years. About 13.34 per cent of the employers have reported that neither the number of child workers has increased nor has decreased.

Data regarding the factors responsible for high incidence of child labour in glass industry were collected from the employers and their general opinion was asked in this context. According to the opinion of employers, the factors responsible for high incidence of child labour are poverty, low level of literacy, availability of child labour at lower wages, lack of bargaining capacity among the child workers and amenable to discipline. Stronger than tradition is the factor of chronic poverty responsible for the prevalence and perpetuation of child labour in the industry. A wide-spread poverty in the urban area as well as in the country-side of the district has been the major factor responsible for high incidence of child labour in glass industry as reported by 31.91 per cent of the employers. Due to poverty, the parents are unable to give education to their children and the children are forced to join the labour

market at their early age. The uneducated parents also donot understand the importance of education. As a result they donot prefer to give education to their children. Illiterate poor children are ready to supply their labour at a lower wage and the employers find them very cheap in labour market. This is what pointed out by 25.53 per cent of the employers indicates. The uneducated parents are least concerned about the health and the future career of their children. Illiteracy is one of the factors for high incidence of child labour in the glass industry as pointed out by 19.15 per cent of the employers.

Similarly, children lack bargaining capacity and they do not protest against low wages and hardwork. The employers find more profitable to employ them as compared to adults. This factor has also been responsible for high incidence of child labour in the glass industry as 6.38 per cent of the employers reported. Generally child workers are easily managable at the work place as they do not create any problems. Child workers are not organised and donot have trade unions which can protect their interests. In some cases, children are more active, agile and quick and feel less tired in certain tasks. Employers find children more amenable to discipline and control. This factor was also pointed by 17.03 per cent of the employers as a reason for high incidence of child labour in the glass industry. Child workers are a great source of profit, for they produce a large number of surplus produce and value.

There was no industry in our sample which provides facilities for skill development of their workers. Data collected from the employers indicate that neither formal nor informal education is provided to the workers in the glass industry. Similarly, no provision of imparting vocational training programme for workers is found in the industry. The other welfare measures such as free text books, uniform, night coaching, medical check-up, nutrition food, canteen and other recreational facilities are also not provided for general welfare of the workers.

Informations were also collected through observations and discussions held with managers and employers of glass manufacturing industries regarding the general working environment such as working space, ventilation, cleanliness, lighting, sanitation, drinking water, etc. in the factories or workshops. Data pertaining to general working environment in the industries highlight that on an average, the general environment and basic infrastructural facilities in which the workers work are very poor and unhealthy. So far space of the work is concerned, it is found satisfactory in only 45 per cent cases. The space for work is found very congested or insufficient in 55 per cent of glass manufacturing establishments. Arrangement for ventilation is observed satisfactory in 50 per cent of them. With respect to cleanliness, it is found that 85 per cent of industries were dirty and uncleaned. Similarly provision of light at the work place is found proper only in 30 per cent.

cases. Arrangements for light are not found proper and sufficient in 70 per cent cases in the sample. Sanitation and toilet facilities are not provided in 80 per cent of the industries. Although in 20 per cent cases, facilities for sanitation and toilet are provided for workers but the facilities are not properly maintained. All the industrial establishments or workshops or sheds or plants were full of dust and smoke. Over all, it is observed that the norms and regulations of factory legislations related to general working conditions and welfare measures for workers were violated by the employers of all the establishments.

Most of the glass manufacturing industries in district Ferozabad are located in urban areas. The general hygienic conditions around the factories are most unhealthy. Even the factories located within the limit of Municipal Board were surrounded by open drainage with darkness. The basic sanitation and drainage facilities are not provided by the Municipality in most of the urban areas. The general sanitary condition was not only poor but also unhygienic. The employers were least concerned about the hygienic aspect in their factories because of their passion is to extract as much work as possible from the workers.

As we have already mentioned that some processes of glass manufacturing are made at household level. At household level also, the work is done in unhealthy environment. The families which are engaged in glass

manufacturing processes at household level are generally very poor. The family members have to work in Unhygienic condition as they reside in huts or in small houses. Without proper light and ventilation, the work is done at household level by the child and adult workers. By and large, dampness and darkness are associated with the household level work of glass manufacturing process.

Not only the workers suffer from various diseases due to working in the glass industries but also common occupational hazards are associated at a higher degree with glass manufacturing processes. The unbearable heat and high degree of temperature at work place lead to a sharp deterioration of the health among the workers. The heat of the different kind of furnaces varies from 1800°C to 400°C within the factories. Incidences of burning are the common feature among the workers at the time of operations. Because of the heat of very high temperature and inhygienic conditions at the work place, the primary complex bearing to Tuberculosis develops among most of the child workers. Similarly, night blindness is observed among a considerable proportion of child workers in the glass industry. Problems like body and joints pains are common among the them.

The glass industry comes under various laws and Acts related to industry and the workers. Most of acts like, Minimum Wages Act, Factory Act, Workman Compensation Act, etc. are applicable in glass industry. These acts are implemented for the welfare of workers through various

departments of government and other implementing machineries. However, through discussion with employers and employees, it is observed that all the Acts related to glass industry are generally being violated by the employers. Timely visits are expected to be made by the officials of enforcement department. The frequent visits of the enforcement officials could be helpful in strengthening the process of implementation of the Acts to a great extent. In this context, data are collected from the employers of the glass industries about the visits made by the enforcement machinery during the last five years. The information revealed that the officials from Labour Department visited in the case of 75 per cent of industries in the sample. However, 25 per cent employers reported that no officials visited in their industries during last five years. However, the visits of the concerned officials were not specific to the purpose but otherwise. This is what we gathered from having talks with some workers and other people who do not matter in society but have all informal links with different industrial units.

What all this presents are the deplorable working conditions of labour in the glass industry. The employers' perception about the supply of child labour shows that poverty, illiteracy and socio-economic deprivation are the causes for the families that supply their child labour for work in the glass factory. Moreover, they also get child labour at cheap rate, i.e. lower wages and the socio-economic conditions of the households also compell them to supply

their child labour. As a result, they extract maximum surplus produce from the employment of child labour and finally realise maximum surplus value in the market. Given the situation, the employers are not bothered about the conditions in which they work. A somewhat apathetic role of the concerned government officials make the employers more comfortable in exploiting the child labour.

CHAPTER IV

Socio-Economic Background of the Sample Households and the Supply of Child Labour

The main objective of this chapter is to comprehend the supply aspect of child labour at the household level. It is the households or families which supply their child labour for wages in the labour market. In view of this, the socio-economic background of the sample households (inclusive of the educational status of the heads of the families) is presented here on the basis of relevant data collected from the 500 households belonging to Ferozabad. The idea behind the presentation of their socio-economic background is to capture the question of why the child labour is supplied by them in the labour market. In addition to this, an attempt is also made to comprehend the reasons due to which the sample households supply their child labour for paid work in the labour market. In this way, an answer to the questions of who supply child labour and why it is supplied, is sought here.

IV.1 Demographic Features

In all, 500 households from which the children are working as child labour in glass manufacturing industry were selected for detailed investigation in Ferozabad.

The demographic composition in the sample households indicates that the average family size as reflected by the sample household population (Table 4.1) is in accordance with that all U.P. both being 5.77 persons per household. The sex ratio (680 females per 1000 males) is recorded lower than that of U.P. State (882). Number of persons in the 18-60 age group is the highest being 40.62 percent of the total sample households whereas just 1.25 percent comprise the above 60 age group. The population of children (below 14 years) is recorded 51.30 percent in the total population of sample households.

Table 4.1 : Family Size and Age-wise Distribution of Population in the Sample household

Age Groups (Years)	Population =====		Total	Percentage
	Male	Female		
0 - 6	227	188	415	14.39
6 - 11	362	265	627	21.76
11 - 14	339	98	437	15.16
14 - 18	134	63	197	6.83
18 - 60	627	544	1171	40.62
60+	27	9	36	1.25
Total	1716	1167	2883	100.00
Sex Ratio		680		
Per Household Population		5.77		

It is disheartening to note that the majority (67%) of the population in the sample households is illiterate. Only 24 percent have been educated upto the primary level only. Literacy is higher in the 3-18 years age-group than in the age-group of 18 years and above (Table 4.2). Further, the literacy level of the males is much higher than that of females. Among the literate population, a large number

Table 4.2 : Educational Level of Population : Age-Wise and Sex-Wise

	3 - 18	18 +	Total	Per HH	% Distribution of Population According to Population
Male					
Illiterate	587	368	955	1.91	57.29
Primary	344	135	479	0.96	28.73
Upto Secondary	73	106	179	0.36	10.74
Beyond Secondary	9	45	54	0.10	3.24
Total	1013	654	1667	3.33	100.00
Female					
Illiterate	412	493	905	1.81	82.50
Primary	134	39	173	0.34	15.76
Upto Secondary	7	7	14	0.02	1.28
Beyond Secondary	-	5	5	0.01	0.46
Total	553	544	1097	2.79	100.00
Total					
Illiterate	999	861	1860	3.72	67.29
Primary	478	174	652	1.30	23.59
Upto Secondary	80	113	193	0.38	6.98
Beyond Secondary	9	50	59	0.11	2.14
Total	1566	1198	2764	5.53	100.00

(28.73% in case of males and 15.76% in case of females) have been educated upto the primary level. Education beyond the secondary level is negligible among the population of sample households.

Data regarding the distribution of sample households according to their castes reveals that scheduled caste households outnumber other castes in the study area. There are 239 scheduled caste households constituting 45.17 percent of the sample households (Table 4.3). These are followed by backward castes, minority communities and upper castes with 30.35 percent, 14.62 percent and 9.86 percent households respectively. The analysis of data regarding the size of households among the different castes indicates

Table 4.3 : Social Category-wise Distribution of the Sample Households

Social Category	No. of Households		Population		Household Size
	No.	Percentage	No.	Percentage	
Scheduled Caste	239	47.80	1302	45.16	5.45
Scheduled Tribe	-	-	-	-	-
Backward Caste	168	33.60	875	30.35	5.21
Minority	38	7.60	422	14.63	11.11
Upper Caste	55	11.00	284	9.86	5.16
Total	500	100.00	2883	100.00	5.77

that the household size is found largest (11.11 members per family) in minority community and followed by scheduled caste. The family size is recorded lowest among the households of upper caste.

The educational level of the heads of households is one of the determining factors for sending their children to work. The attitude and perception of head of the family towards children depend on the educational standard of the head to a great extent. About 64 per cent of the 500 heads of the households are found illiterate (Table 4.4). Of the remaining, 19.60 per cent of them have received primary education and below, 18.80 per cent have passed secondary schools and only 4.80 per cent of the household heads attained education beyond secondary level (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 : Literacy Level of the Heads of Households

Literacy Level	No. of Heads	Percentage
1. Illiterate	319	63.80
2. Primary and Below	98	19.60
3. Secondary	59	11.80
4. Above Secondary	24	4.80
Total	500	100.00

The information regarding the status of residential houses of the sample households reveals that most of the households (66.40 per cent) live in their own houses, whereas 33.60 per cent live in rented houses.

Table 4.5 : Status of Residential House in the Sample Households

Status of House	Number of Households	Percentage
Own house	332	66.40
Rented house	168	33.60
Others	-	-
Total	500	100.00

IV.2 Occupational Structure and Mobility

Of the total population in 500 sample households, 56.92 per cent are recorded as workers engaged in different occupations. On an average 3.28 persons are earners in the family of 5.77 members taking all the sample households together. Data pertaining to occupational pattern among the workers in the sample households indicates that the majority (90.43 per cent) of the working population counts on manufacturing and processing industries as a source of primary earning (Table 4.6). Cultivators form the second largest group of workers being 3.41 per cent of the total. The workers engaged in trade and commerce are accounted

1.77 per cent. Construction has been as a source of earning income for 1.34 per cent workers in the total earning population. Occupations like livestock, fishing, and forestry employ the smallest percentage (0.36 per cent).

Table 4.6 : Occupational Pattern of the Workers in Sample Households

Occupation	No. of Workers	Percentage	Per Household No. of Workers
1. Cultivator	56	3.41	0.11
2. Agricultural labourers	9	0.55	0.01
3. Livestock, forestry, fishing	6	0.36	0.01
4. Mining & quarrying	-	-	-
5. Manufacturing & processing	1484	90.43	2.96
6. Construction	22	1.34	0.04
7. Transport, storage & communication	18	1.10	0.03
8. Trade & commerce	29	1.77	0.05
9. Other services	17	1.04	0.03
Total	1641	100.00	3.28

Among the workers in the sample households the working children are also included. Of the total 1641 workers, the working children constitute 38.94 per cent.

The traditional system is still holding a significant place as far as occupation is concerned among the workers of different generations. Occupational mobility reflects the employment avenues and the income levels. The analysis of data regarding the occupational mobility among the heads of sample households indicates that 34.20 per cent of the heads are continuing their father's occupations. Similarly, 30.80 per cent heads have the same occupations which their grand fathers had (Table 4.7). A little more than 17 per cent of the heads are carrying on occupation as their mother were holding. It is reflected from the data that occupational mobility among the heads has taken place at a very slow pace. The concept of child labour in the study area is not new phenomena rather a traditional one as proved by the fact that 71.60 per cent of the heads have worked as child labour (Table 4.7).

Table 4.7 : Occupational Mobility of the Family

Description	Number	Percentage
1. Total no. of heads in the sample	500	100.00
2. Heads continuing grand father's occupation	154	30.80
3. Heads continuing father's occupation	171	34.20
4. Heads continuing mother's occupation	86	17.20
5. Children continuing father's occupation	126	25.20
6. Heads worked as child labour	358	71.60

There are as much as 77.80 per cent migrant households in the sample (Table 4.8). The largest category (i.e., 67.61 per cent) is of those who have migrated to the present district of residence from another districts within Uttar Pradesh. A little more than 22.20 per cent of the total number of households are native inhabitants of the district. About 3 per cent of the sample households have come to Ferozabad district from outside the state.

Table 4.8 : Migratory Status of the Sample Household

Category	No. of Households	Percentage
1. Non migrants	111	22.20
2. Migrants	389	77.80
(a) Within the district	112	28.79
(b) Outside the district	263	67.61
(c) Within the state	3	0.77
(d) Outside the state	11	2.83

IV.3 Household Income

Data pertaining to the income levels in the sample households reveals that the per household monthly income is recorded Rs.1313 from all the sources (Table 4.9). Per capita terms it comes about Rs.228 per month. In the 500 sample households, the number of working children (below 14 years) is recorded 639 and they are earning money by

Table 4.9 : Income Levels in Sample Households

Description	
1. Total monthly income of sample households (Rs.)	656719
2. Number of households in the sample	500
3. Per household monthly income (Rs.)	1313
4. Total population in the sample households	2883
5. Per capita income (Rs.)	228
6. Income earned by working children (Rs.)	155620
7. Number of working children in the sample households (below 14 years)	639
8. Per child monthly earnings (Rs.)	259
9. Percentage share of income earned by working children	25.22

engaging themselves in different occupations. The monthly earning of per working child is worked out to be Rs.259. Overall, the income earned by the working children contributes about 25.22 per cent of total household income. The income levels of households and the magnitude of working children highlight that poverty is one of the main factors responsible for child labour in the project area.

When data on income levels in the sample households are arranged according to different ranges of income brackets, it is found that the monthly income of 39 per cent of the sample households is found less than Rs.1000 (Table 4.10). The households constituting 46.2 per cent of

the sample belong to the income size group of from Rs.1001 to Rs.2000. The per household income is recorded more than Rs.2000 in the case of only 12.8 per cent households (Table 4.10. Among the sample of 500 households, only 2 households have income more than Rs.5000. The income levels of sample households reveals that the economic condition of most of the households is not sound but weak. Poverty seems to loom large among most of the households.

Table 4.10 : Level of Monthly Income in the Sample Households

Monthly income of sample households (Rs.)	Sample Households	
	Number	Percentage
Less than 500	11	2.2
501 - 1000	194	38.8
1001 - 2000	231	46.2
2001 - 3000	46	9.2
3001 - 5000	16	3.2
Above 5000	2	0.4
Total	500	100.0

IV.4 Indebtedness and Consumption Pattern

Regarding the indebtedness among the sample households, Table 4.11 indicates that 26.8 per cent of the sample households are indebted. The amount of loan per

indebted household is worked out to be Rs.6972 (Table 4.11). Out of 134 indebted households, 47.01 per cent borrowed from the landlord. Of the total credit, the share of landlords is 45.44 per cent. The next largest source of credit is the banks/credit societies recording for 31.32 per cent of the total indebted households. Traders and employers are not popular options for obtaining credit. A little more than 14 per cent of them have borrowed from the friends and relatives whose share in total credit is 20 per cent.

Table 4.11 : Level of Indebtedness and Source-wise Distribution of Loans Among Sample Households

Source of Loan	Indebted Households		Amount of Loan (Rs.)	
	No.	Percentage	Total	Per Household
1. Employer	4	2.99	5000	1250
2. Landlord (Landowner)	63	47.01	424600	6740
3. Money lender	2	1.49	23500	11750
4. Traders	1	0.75	1000	1000
5. Bank/Credit Society	45	33.58	293100	6513
6. Friends & Relatives	19	14.18	187100	9847
7. Others	-	-	-	-
Total	134	100.00	934300	6972

In this way, the landlord, money lender, trader and friends and relatives are the major sources of credit for the households. About 64 per cent of the 134 households are indebted to them and the total share stands to be 68 per cent of the total amount of loans taken from all sources by all 134 households.

The classification of indebted households according to size of loan indicates that among the 134 indebted households 82 have taken loans exceeding the amount of Rs.5000 each. Next to follow is the group of 49 households which took loans ranging between Rs.1000-4999 each. Only 2.24 per cent of the indebted households borrowed less than Rs.1000. The percentage of households which took credit is just 26.80 per cent of the total sample (Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 : Classification of Households According to Size of Loan

Amount of Loan (Rs.)	No. of Households who have taken loan	% Distribution of House- holds according to size of loan
Less than 1000	3	2.24
1000 - 4999	49	36.57
5000 and above	82	61.19
Total	134	100.00

Note: The portion of households who have taken loan constituted 26.80 per cent in the total sample.

Main items of food were listed in the consumption pattern of sample households. In the consumption of cereals, wheat forms the main item of the diet of sample households (Table 4.13). The average monthly consumption of wheat has been 72.31 kgs. per households being 12.54 kg. per capita. Intake of dal, rice and other cereals is found comparatively lower quantity. The utilisation of edible oil is recorded about 3 kg. per month per household.

Table 4.13 : Consumption Pattern in the Sample Households

Item of Consumption	Monthly Consumption (Kg.)		
	Total	Per House- hold	Per Capita
Rice	2091.5	4.18	0.75
Wheat	36153.0	72.31	12.54
Other cereals	1877.0	3.75	0.65
Dal	2426.0	4.93	0.86
Oil	1407.5	2.82	0.49

IV.4 Child Population and Supply of Child Labour

When we examine the composition of child population and child labour in the sample household we find that more than half of the household population is composed of children. Male children outnumber females being 54.07 per cent and 47.21 per cent of the total child population

respectively (Table 4.14). As has been already mentioned that the supply of child labour in the district has been from one generation to another. Each and every family in the poor section of society has engaged its children as child labour. In the total sample of 500 households, the number of working children is found 639, registering 1.28 child labour in each household. In other words, 43.20 per cent of the child population (below 14 years) is working in one sector of the economy or other. Among the male children below 14 years, the ratio of child labour is worked out to be 53.45 per cent. However, the corresponding figure for female children is 25.95 per cent (Table 4.14).

Table 4.14 : Composition of Child Population and Child Labour in the Sample Households

Description	Composition of Child Population and Child Labour		
	Male	Female	Total
Total child population in the 500 sample households (below 14 years)	928	551	1479
Percentage of child population in the total household population	54.07	47.21	51.30
No. of child workers in the 500 sample households	496	143	639
Percentage of child workers in the total child population	53.45	25.95	43.20

Why the households or families supply their children for work in the labour market, data were collected from the sample households in order to comprehend the reasons for sending their children to work. Different reasons are reported by the households for engaging their children as child labour. Most of the households are found not in a position to meet the basic requirements of their subsistence. The only alternative remains with such households is to send their children to earn money. Need for supplementary income has been the main cause for involving 89.33 per cent of the working children in income generating activities (Table 4.15). Acquisition of skill in young age for better prospects in future motivated 5.01 per

Table 4.15 : Reasons for Working as Child Labour

Reasons for Working as Child Labour	Number of Working Children	Percentage of Working Children
1. No other earning member	7	1.09
2. Need for supplementary/ income	574	89.83
3. Father/mother alcoholic	4	0.63
4. Parents handicapped	7	1.09
5. Acquisition of skill	32	5.01
6. Other	15	2.35
Total	639	100.00

cent to work among the working children. Further, it is ironical that some of the households in the sample do not have other adult earning members in their families. Among the working children, 1.09 per cent reported that they have no any adult earning member in their families and they are compelled to earn money for their livelihood. Other problems such as handicapped parents and alcoholism among parents have forced some of the children to seek gainful employment.

There are 1.28 working children (below 14 years) per household in study area. A little more than 48 per cent of the total working children never attended school. Those currently attending school are 30.98 per cent. Out of 639 working children in the sample households 20.81 per cent have discontinued studies.

The working children in the sample households are found engaged in different types of activities. For the purpose of analysis, the activities are broadly classified in two categories; skilled and unskilled. Village and small scale industries employ 487 children (76.21 per cent of the total working children) in skilled work (Table 4.16). Out of these 79.20 per cent are recorded males and 20.80 per cent females. So far the employment of children in unskilled work is concerned, 75 per cent of 152 children are males and the rest are females. An overall picture shows that male children are employed proportionately more in skilled work than the female children. The

corresponding figure among the female working children is recorded 72.66 per cent. Less than one-fourth (23.79 per cent) of the working children in the households are found earning income from unskilled work (Table 4.16). None of the working children are employed in unpaid work.

Table 4.16 : Activities in which all the Working Children of the Sample Households are Engaged

Type of work	No. of Working Children			Percentage of Working Children		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1. On paid households work	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Skill training outside the family	-	-	-	-	-	-
3. Work for wages in village and small scale industry in skilled work	386	101	487	79.20 (79.20)	72.66 (20.80)	76.21 (100.0)
4. Work for Wages in unskilled work	114	38	152	22.86 (75.00)	27.34 (25.00)	23.79 (100.0)
Total	500	139	639	100.00	100.00	100.00

Poverty seems the major factor for children to seek employment in the study area. Due to poverty the children could not get education and compelled to earn money. As it

has been already mentioned that among the working children below 14 years of age 20.81 per cent dropped of school. Out of working children who discontinued schools due to poverty is recorded 73.68 per cent. About 4.52 per cent of the drop-outs are compelled by their parents to earn money. Due to death of their parent, 3.76 per cent had no alternative but to discontinue studies and cope with added responsibilities of households. However, few of the working children who dropped out, are not interested in studies as reported in 18.04 per cent cases. Overall, in more than 80 per cent cases, poverty is responsible for forcing children to work and earn money.

Data pertaining to household income and proportion of working children in the total number of children reveals that lesser is the household income, higher is the percentage of child workers in the total number of children. Of the total number of children below 14 years, 43.20 per cent are recorded as working children (Table 4.17). The percentage of child workers in total number of children is found 56.00 per cent in the households which have monthly income less than Rs.500. This percentage falls to 42.62 when the income increases to between Rs.1001-2000. There is no child labour in the households which have monthly income more than Rs.5000 (Table 4.17). The reason behind this could be that the higher income group households are economically able to meet their basic

Table 4.17 : Level of Family Income and Working Children

Monthly Income of Households (Rs.)	No. of House- holds	No. of Child- ren Below 14 Yrs.	No. of Working Children Below 14 Yrs.	Percentage of Child Workers in the Total No. of Children Below 14 Yrs.
Less than 500	11	25	14	56.00
501 - 1000	194	567	253	44.62
1001 - 2000	231	696	299	42.62
2001 - 3000	46	147	57	38.77
3001 - 5000	12	43	16	37.21
Above 5000	2	1	-	-
Total	500	1479	639	43.20

needs and are not in need of earnings from their children. The analysis of data regarding household income and child workers highlights that poverty is the main cause of child labour in the study area.

Apart from other factors responsible for the emergence of child labour, the educational level of head of household has also its influence in the determination of child as child labour. The survey data of the households also exhibit this clue. The relationship of the education of the head of household with the proportion of child labour in the total children shows that higher the educational level of head of household, lower the

proportion of child labour. It is evident by the fact that in the population of children, the proportion of child workers is recorded 44.64 per cent in the sample households headed by illiterate persons, whereas this figure is 42.25 per cent in the households in the case of heads educated beyond secondary level and 38.78 per cent in the case of heads having schooling level upto primary level (Table 4.18). Illiteracy has deep roots among the heads of households and working children. In the sample of the total about 64 per cent heads and 65 per cent of the working children are found illiterate.

Table 4.18 : Educational Level of Head of Household and Working Children

Educational Level of Head of the Household	No. of Heads	No. of Children Below 14 Yrs.	No. of Working Below 14 Yrs.	Percentage of Child Labour in Total No. of Children
Illiterate	319	923	412	44.64
Primary level and below	98	312	121	3.78
More than primary and upto secondary	59	173	76	43.93
Beyond secondary	24	71	30	42.25
Total	500	1479	639	43.20

We have also tried to examine the data on working children according to different size-groups of families in the sample households to find out whether the family size is also one of the factors responsible for child labour. The analysis of data regarding the family size and rate of working children indicates an inverse relationship between the family size and the work participation rate among the children. Of the total number of children belonging to families which have less than three members, 94.00 per cent children are found working. The corresponding figure has come down to 48.52 per cent in family size-group of 3 - 6 members. As the number of members in the family increases, this proportion starts to fall. The proportion of working

Table 4.19 : Family Size and Working Children

Family Size Group	No. of Households	No. of Children Below 14 Yrs.	No. of Working Below 14 Yrs.	Percentage of Working Children in Total No. of Children Below 14 Yrs.
Upto 3	44	50	47	94.00
3 - 6	302	779	378	48.52
6 - 9	138	573	190	33.16
9 - 12	15	70	21	30.00
12 - 15	1	7	3	42.86
Above 15	-	-	-	-
Total	500	1479	639	43.20

children is worked out 30 per cent in the total number of children in those sample households having family size of 9 to 12 members (Table 4.19).

The analysis reveals that as the members in the family increases, fewer number of households send their children to work as compared to households of large family sizes. In the households of smaller family sizes, factors like, small proportion of adult members in the family composition, absence of adult earning members, due to death, old age, sickness, and alcoholism and insufficient earnings of the adults are the main reasons for the higher percentage of working children in the total number of children.

IV.6 Conclusion

The data analysis specific to the socio-economic background of the sample households and to the supply aspect of child labour at the household level reveals the following :

Firstly, about 76 per cent of the sample households belong to the scheduled and backward castes and about 15 per cent of them are the Muslims.

Secondly, a little more than 67 per cent of the total population belonging to the sample households is illiterate and about 24 per cent of the sample population is having education upto the primary level. About 64 per cent of the heads of the sample households are illiterates and

about 20 per cent of them are just literates with an education upto the primary level.

Thirdly, the household income level shows that the sample households are not economically sound but weak and poor. The monthly consumption pattern of the households also supports this fact. About 27 per cent of them are indebted and a majority of the indebted households are found to have been taken loans from the landlord, friends and relatives.

Fourthly, there are 1641 workers who constitute about 57 per cent of 2883 total population of the sample households and most of the workers (i.e. 90.43 per cent) are engaged only in manufacturing industries. The occupational mobility of the heads of the 500 households is conspicuously absent as they are continuing the same occupations from one generation to another. About 70 per cent of the total number of heads of the households reported that they also worked as child labour in the past as well. This shows that the child labour is being supplied from one generation to another. Moreover, about 78 per cent of the sample households reported to have been migrants. Most of the migrant households were from outside the districts and about 3 per cent of them were from outside the state.

Fifthly, there are 639 child workers who constitute about 39 per cent of the total number ^{of} workers and 43.20 per cent of the total child population of 1479 belonging to the

sample households. Most of the child workers are found to be in skilled work and only about 24 per cent of 639 child workers are engaged in unskilled work.

Finally, why the households supply child labour is found to be on account of the prevalence of poverty among them. About 90 per cent of the child labour is reported to have been employed due to poverty. The other causes for the supply of child labour in the labour market at the household level are reported to be the absence of any other earning member, the alcoholic habit of the parents, etc. All other causes are related to the poor and weak socio-economic background of the sample households in same form or other.

In a brief, the supply of child labour for wages in the labour market at the household level basically lies in the reproduction of the same socio-economic system to which the households and the people belong.

CHAPTER V

Socio-Economic Conditions of Working Children and Their Labour Use

This chapter deals with the working children and their use as a means of production in manufacturing industry and as a source of income generation to the households. It also examines the main characteristics of working children employed in glass manufacturing industry in terms of age and sex composition of child workers, educational level, work status, past experience and health status. Analysis has been made regarding other aspects related to child workers such as wage levels, pattern in wage collection, hours of work, pocket expenditure, housing structure, exploitation of child workers and their attitude towards the work. Focus is given to the circumstances of child workers in which they generally work, reasons for doing work and the compulsions which made them as child labour. In a way, the perception of working children about the supply and use of child labour is also presented in this chapter.

V.1 Age-Sex-wise Distribution, Educational and Occupational Characteristics

The survey is conducted among the 500 child workers engaged in glass manufacturing industry in district Ferozabad. The detailed investigation is done by collecting necessary data through a structured questionnaire. As we have already mentioned somewhere also that the child labour is employed in

glass manufacturing process at two levels : at factory level and at the household level. Selection of child workers for sample is made from those who are working in the factory sheds as well as at the household level.

First of all we will discuss the age and sex-wise distribution of child workers in the sample.

All the working children in our sample who have been studied were under 14 years of age. Among the working children in the sample, the female children constituted 19 per cent. Age-wise classification of working children indicated that bulk of the child workers (68 per cent) in the sample are in the age-group of 11-14 years (Table 5.1), while the proportion of working children is 28.4 per cent in the age-group of 7-11 years. It is more surprising that the

Table 5.1 : Age and Sex-wise distribution of child labour in the sample.

Age group (Years)	No. of working children		
	Male	Female	Total
4 - 7	14	4	18 (3.60)
7 - 14	91	51	142 (28.40)
11 - 14	300	40	340 (68.00)
Total	405 (81.00)	95 (19.00)	500 (100.00)

Note : Figures in brackets represent percentages.

children even at the age of 4-7 years are also working in the glass industry and however, the percentage of working children in the age-group of 4 to 7 years is 3.6 per cent of the total sample (Table 5.1).

Most of the children (57.80%) both male and female took up the present job between 7 - 11 years of age. The emerging pattern from Table 5.2 reflects that before completing the age of seven the children were considered too young to work and after the age of 11 years thought to be suitable for starting learning the skill of the present trade. The proportion of the working children of that age group in the sample constituted 7.8 per cent who started working in the present job before completing 7 years of age (Table 5.2). More than one-third of the working children entered in the present job between the age of 11 to 14 years.

Table 5.2 : Distribution of Working Children According to Age of Entry into the Present Job.

Age of Entry (Yrs.)	Male	Female	Total
< 7	30	9	39 (7.80)
7 - 11	215	74	289 (57.80)
11 - 14	161	11	172 (34.40)
All Groups	405	95	500 (100.00)

Data pertaining to the educational status of working children in the sample reveals that as much as 45.4 per cent of the working children are illiterate. This fact highlights that the benefits of educational development programmes could not percolate to the grass-root level in our society whether it is rural society or the urban. Sex-wise educational level of working children shows that 55.30 per cent among males and

Table 5.3 Educational Status of Working Child According to Age and Sex.

Age and Sex	Illiterate	Primary and below	Upto secondary	Beyond secondary	Total
Upto 6 years					
Male	9	5	-	-	14
Female	3	1	-	-	4
7 - 11 years					
Male	45	45	1	-	91
Female	23	28	-	-	51
Total	68	73	1	-	142
11-14 years					
Male	127	146	27	-	300
Female	20	18	2	-	40
Total	147	164	29	-	340
All Groups					
Male	181	196	28	-	405
Female	46	47	2	-	95
Total	227	243	30	-	500

51.57 per cent among females are counted as literate (Table 5.3). The discriminatory attitude of society towards the education of females is reflected from the figures in Table 5.3. The proportion of working children whose education is primary and below is recorded, by and large, equal among the males and females. However, the percentage of working children who have education more than primary and upto secondary is 7.91 per cent among the male working children as compared 2.11 per cent among the female working children.

When we analyse the schooling status of the working children, we find that there are 54.60 per cent literate children as against 45.40 per cent of the children who never attended any school. Out of the total literate working children, only 36.63 per cent are still attending schools.

Table 5.4 : Schooling Status of the Working Child

Schooling Status	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
Still Attending School	100	20.00
Never Attended School	227	45.40
Attended but Dropped out	173	34.60
Total	500	100.00

In the total number of working children 20 per cent are still getting education. The dropped out constituted 63.34 per cent among the literate children and 34.60 per cent in the total number of working children (Table 5.4). It reveals that due to various reasons a significant proportion of enrolled children dropped out from schools.

Data were also collected on whether the working children had also worked before joining the present job (at the time of interview). The information reveals that only 13.40 per cent of the total working children in the sample have past work experience. However, among the female working children no one has past experience. Though among the male working children 16.54 per cent had past experience. The age-wise classification of working children, those in the age-group of 4-7 years do not have past experience. In the age-group of

Table 5.5 : Details of the past work of the working child

Age Group (Yrs.)	Worked			Not Worked			Total workers		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
4 - 7	-	-	-	14	4	18	14	4	18
7 - 11	4	-	4	87	51	138	91	51	142
11 - 14	63	-	63	237	40	277	300	40	340
All Groups	67	-	67	338	95	433	405	95	500

11-14 years, about 18.53 per cent have the past experience. Among the female working children (who constituted 19 per cent in the total sample) none have worked earlier and have no past experience.

A small percentage (13.4 per cent) of working children had worked prior to joining their present job and all of them were males. When the data about the duration of employment in the past job are analysed, it is found that among the child workers who have worked earlier, 63 working children (94 per cent) are in the age-group of 11-14 years. As much as 40.30 per cent worked upto 6 months, 28.3 per cent between 12-24 months, 19.40 per cent worked for more than 24 months and 11.94 per cent for -12 months. The working children, who are less than 7 years old, did not work in the past. Among the total working children having past experience constituted about 6 per cent in the age-group of 7-11 years.

Information about the reasons for leaving the past job was also collected from the working children. Among the reasons, closure of the industry has been the major factor for leaving the past job as reported by 28.36 per cent of the working children who had worked earlier (Table 5.6). As there was no job security in the past job, as a result 16.42 per cent left the job. Due to lower wage rate in the earlier job, 16.42 per cent were forced to leave the past job (Table 5.6). Similarly, 17.91 per cent of the working children were thrown out of job as a result they joined the present

establishments. There have been other reasons such as, heavy work load, irregular wage payment and distant location of work place which forced about 18 per cent working children to look for other openings and they left the earlier job (Table 5.6).

Table 5.6 : Reasons for Leaving the Past Job.

Reasons for leaving the past job	Working Child	
	No.	Percentage
1. Insecurity	11	17.42
2. Started Attending School	2	2.98
3. Closure of Industry	19	28.36
4. Low Wages	11	16.42
5. Heavy Work Load	4	5.97
6. Irregular Wage Payment	6	8.96
7. Distant Location of Work Place	2	2.98
8. Thrown out of job	12	17.91
Total	67	100.00

When we look the work status of the working children in the sample we find that of the total 500 child workers interviewed, all are paid wages but just 22.60 per cent are currently receiving training while on the job.

Table 5.7 : Status of Child Workers in the Job.

Total number of child workers in the sample	500
Number of child workers under training	113
Percentage of workers under training	22.60
Number of child workers who are paid	500
Percentage of child workers paid	100

Most of the (98.00%) children live in the secure environment of their own houses with their parents. Relatives housed 1.60 per cent of the sample working children. Just 2 unfortunate ones are found living on their own arrangement.

Table 5.8 : Housing Accommodation Facilities for the Working Child

Residential Status of the Working Child	Working Child	
	No.	Percentage
Living with parents	490	98.00
Living with relatives	8	1.60
Living in shelter/childrens' home	-	-
Living at the work place	-	-
Living alone	2	0.40
Total	500	100.00

Data on the distance of working place and mode of transport used by the working children revealed that more than half of the sample of working children (55.60 per cent) do not have to commute to work as they are working at home (Table 5.9). As has already been mentioned that many of the stages in work process of glass manufacturing, particularly in the bangle making are generally done at home by the child workers with their family members. The work is given to the households by the contractors on a piece-rate basis. Of those working outside, 86.85 per cent walk to their work place and among that 104 working children (56.22 per cent) have to cover a short distance (less than 1 Km.) while about 32 per cent to walk 1 Km. to 3 Kms. The working children constituting 8.80 per cent have to cover more than 3 Kms. for

Table 5.9 : Mode of Transport used by the Working Children

Distance (Km.)	Number of working children use the mode of transport				
	Working at Home	Walk	Bycycle	Bus	Other
Zero Distance	287	-	-	-	-
Less than 1 Km.	-	104	2	-	-
1 - 3 Km.	-	59	5	1	-
3 Kms. & above	-	22	20	-	-
Total	287	185	27	1	1

reaching work place and among these 45.45 per cent children use bycycles as a mode of transport. Only one child reported bus as a mode of transport to reach the work place.

V.2 Pattern of Wage Income and Child Labour Use

Data on the wages and levels of earning among the working children in the sample indicate that per worker

Table 5.10 : Level of Monthly and Per day earnings according to Different Wage-Group.

Wage Group (Rs.)	No. of children	Total mon- thly inc- ome (absce- lute (Rs.)	Average monthly income (30 days (Rs.)	Average wage per day/per child (Rs.)
0 - 75	29 (5.80)	1910	65.86	2.20
75 - 150	150 (30.00)	18160	121.07	4.04
150 - 200	50 (100.0)	9940	198.80	6.63
200 - 300	65 (13.00)	18850	290.00	9.67
300 - 400	52 (10.40)	20910	402.12	13.40
400 - 500	44 (8.80)	21610	491.14	16.37
500 - 600	65 (13.00)	38670	594.92	19.83
600 - 700	18 (3.60)	12180	676.67	22.56
700 - 800	14 (2.80)	10800	771.43	25.71
800 +	13 (2.60)	12590	968.46	32.28
Total	500 (100.0)	165620	331.24	11.04

Note : Figures within brackets to refer to percentages.

monthly earning (income) is recorded Rs.331 (Table 5.10) which is too little considering the hazardous work and back breaking work done by the children in the glass manufacturing industry in Ferozabad. When the working children are classified according to different wage-groups, it is found that 30 per cent of the working children get wages of Rs.4 per day while 69.2 per cent get below Rs.13.40 per day. Only 9 per cent of the working children get wages above Rs.20/- per day. The working children constituting about 2.6 per cent who get a little more than Rs.32 per day. Level of wages among the children depends on the hours of work, level of skill, nature of work, age of child and the establishment where the child gets employment.

Table 5.11 shows that longer the duration of working hours, larger the number of child workers and so conversely. These children can compete with adults in putting in as many hours of hard work as them but costs for these children as incurred in terms of (ill health, loss of childhood, education and leisure) overweigh benefits (paltry wages) that accrue to them. For an alarming 39.80 per cent of the total children working hours stretch beyond 8 hours a day. Exploitation is evident as an adult working day is defined as constituting 8 hours. It is an outrage to make children work relentlessly for such endless hours in the environs of a glass factory. A little more than a quarter of the working children work for 6-8 hours a day. This time duration too is pathetically long for a child barely into his/her teens.

Table 5.11 : Classification of Working Children to Hours Devoted (Per day) to work

Hours Worked Per day (Number)	No. of Children	Percentage
0 - 2	13	2.60
2 - 4	79	15.80
4 - 6	82	16.40
6 - 8	127	25.40
8 - 10	108	21.60
10 & above	91	18.20
Total	500	100.00

Further, this table reveals another unfavourable fact concerning child labour, the number of working children falls as the hours of work shorten. A little more than 16 per cent of the children work for 4-6 hours, 15.8 per cent for 2-4 hours and only 2.6 per cent fortunate few work for a reasonable 2 hours. The grimness of the situation is magnified by the fact that exploitation begins at home for more than half (57.40%) of these overburdened children as they work in households with their parents or relatives.

Table 5.12 : Classification of working children according to different levels of monthly income and its relationship with hours of work per day.

No. of hours worked per day	Monthly Income of the Working Child (Rs.)										Total hours
	0-75	75-150	150-200	200-300	300-400	400-500	500-600	600-700	700-800	800 & above	
0 - 2	2 (15.39)	8 (16.53)	2 (15.39)	1 (7.69)	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 (100.00)
2 - 4	10 (12.66)	50 (63.29)	5 (6.32)	10 (12.66)	1 (1.27)	2 (2.53)	1 (1.27)	-	-	-	79 (100.00)
4 - 6	4 (4.88)	22 (26.83)	7 (8.54)	10 (12.19)	7 (8.54)	13 (15.86)	15 (18.29)	3 (3.66)	1 (1.21)	-	82 (100.00)
6 - 8	5 (3.94)	38 (29.93)	13 (10.24)	10 (7.87)	11 (8.66)	13 (10.24)	23 (18.11)	9 (7.08)	1 (0.78)	4 (3.15)	127 (100.00)
8 - 10	6 (5.55)	20 (18.52)	12 (11.11)	14 (12.97)	17 (15.75)	10 (9.26)	16 (14.82)	4 (3.70)	4 (3.70)	5 (4.62)	108 (100.00)
10 & above	2 (2.19)	12 (13.19)	11 (12.09)	20 (21.99)	16 (17.59)	6 (6.59)	10 (10.99)	2 (2.19)	8 (8.79)	4 (4.39)	91 (100.00)
Total	29 (5.8)	150 (30.00)	50 (10.00)	65 (13.00)	52 (10.4)	44 (8.8)	65 (13.00)	18 (3.6)	14 (2.8)	13 (2.6)	500 (100.00)

Note : Figures in parenthesis are percentages.

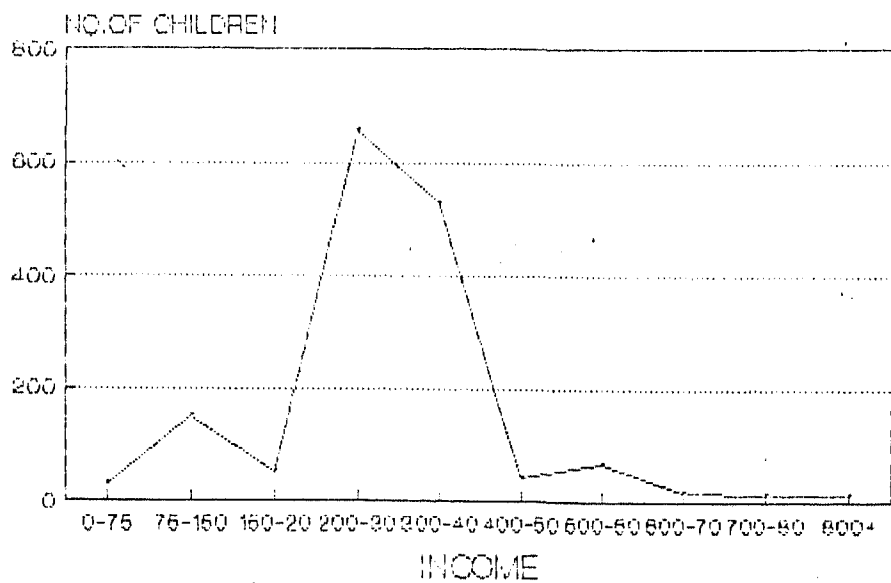
A glance at Table 5.12 is enough to notice the plight of the working children slaving at the glass works in Ferozabad. The total picture reveals that as the hours of work increase from 0 to 8 hours per day, the number of working children also increases. The increase in the number of children with 0 - 2 hours to 2-4 hours is drastic but steadies as hours increase from 2 -4 to 4 - 6 a day. As working time expands to 8 hours a day the increase in working children is quite noticeable. But the increase in income is not necessarily consistent with increasing hours of work. Beyond 8 hours the number of children working starts to fall but at a decreasing rate. (Therefore we may say that the rate of increase of working children with the increase in working hours ranging from 0 - 8 is greater than the rate of decrease in working children with a corresponding increase in working time of beyond 8 hours). The above discussion is necessary to establish a clear relationship between working hours and income earned. A little over 50 per cent of the children working for upto 8 hours per day earn between upto Rs.300. For those putting in more than 8 hours a day, the figure ranges between Rs.300 - 400. The increase is not consistent with the added hours of work put in (Table 5.12) of those working 0 - 2 hours per day maximum (67.53%) earn Rs.75 - 150. A majority of the children earn the same amount i.e., Rs.75 - 100 irrespective of the fact that they work for 2 - 4 hours or 8 - 10 hours a day. This trend breaks only when working time exceeds 10 hours. For this duration most of the children receive between Rs.200 - 300. Only if a child works

Table 5.13 : Classification of Working Children According to Hours Worked Per Day and its Relationship with Income Levels.

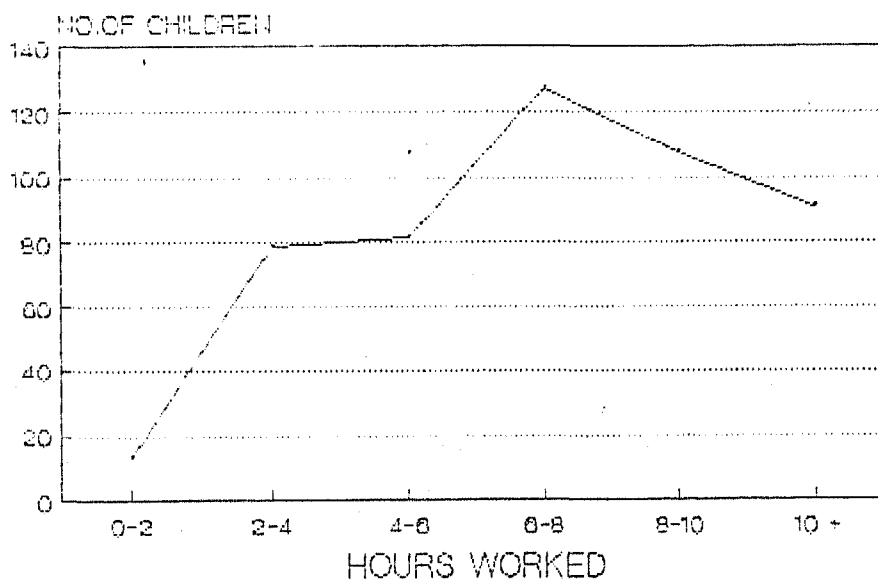
No. of hours worked per day	Monthly Income of the Working Child (Rs.)										Total hours
	0-75	75-150	150-200	200-300	300-400	400-500	500-600	600-700	700-800	800 & above	
0 - 2	2 (6.89)	8 (5.34)	2 (4.00)	1 (1.54)	-	-	-	-	-	-	13 (2.60)
2 - 4	10 (34.49)	50 (33.33)	5 (10.00)	10 (15.39)	1 (1.92)	2 (4.55)	1 (1.54)	-	-	-	79 (15.80)
4 - 6	4 (13.79)	22 (14.66)	7 (14.00)	10 (15.39)	7 (13.46)	13 (29.55)	15 (23.08)	3 (16.67)	1 (7.14)	-	82 (16.40)
6 - 8	5 (17.25)	38 (25.34)	13 (26.00)	10 (15.39)	11 (21.15)	13 (29.55)	23 (35.37)	9 (50.00)	1 (7.14)	4 (30.77)	127 (25.40)
8 - 10	6 (20.69)	20 (13.33)	12 (24.00)	14 (21.53)	17 (32.69)	10 (22.72)	16 (24.62)	4 (22.22)	4 (28.58)	5 (38.46)	108 (21.60)
10 & above	2 (6.89)	12 (8.00)	11 (22.00)	20 (30.76)	16 (30.78)	6 (13.63)	10 (15.39)	2 (11.11)	8 (57.14)	4 (30.77)	91 (18.20)
Total	29 (100)	150 (100)	50 (100)	65 (100)	52 (100)	44 (100)	65 (100)	18 (100)	14 (100)	13 (100)	500 (100)

Note : Figures in parenthesis are percentages.

RELATION BETWEEN INCOME AND CHILD WORKERS IN FIROZABAD



RELATION BETWEEN WORKING HOURS AND CHILD WORKERS IN FIROZABAD



for 4 - 6 hours or more per day does the employer consider giving him Rs.600 or more. The above pattern reflects the working children's lack of bargaining power as they are operating in a "sellers" market. Moreover, the supply of labour exceeds the demand tilting the scales in favour of the employers and leading to exploitation of the child labour.

Table 5.13 exposes the neglect attitude of employers towards child labour. Their 'take it or leave it' attitude is evident from the fact that they make work available at a certain wage irrespective of the hours put in by the child worker. Taking the very first income group of Rs. 0 - 75 into consideration we see that most of the 29 children (34.49 per cent) work for 2-4 hours but for the same income, 17.25 per cent work for 6-8 hours a day and 27.58 per cent for more than 8 hours a day. As income rises to Rs.75-150 the number of children increases too. Of these 150 maximum i.e., 33.33 per cent work for 2-4 hours but again the percentage of those who work for 6 hours and more exceed by a fair margin of 13 per cent (Table 5.13). Another noteworthy point is that as income increases further the number of children drops to 50. This is due to the fact that average hours of work also increase ranging from 6 to beyond 10 hours per day. More children are lured by the wages in the Rs.200-300 income group, maximum (30.76%) work for more than 10 hours per day. This is discriminatory as for the same income many children are devoting lesser hours. This further reflects on the individual and discriminatory payment policy of the employers

and a lack of awareness/information among the child labourers regarding the prevailing wage rate. This further weakens their position and makes them easy targets for exploitation. Even as wages rise to Rs.600 and above, number of children choosing to work for the amount drops sharply. It can be attributed to the corresponding rise in the hours of work which most often stretch to 8 hours and beyond. The average wage rate is seen to be towards the lower end of the scale, 59 per cent wages ranging between Rs.0 - 300. Most of them receive between Rs.75-100 (Table 5.13). On the other hand, as many as 65 per cent of the children work for more than 6 hours per day. It is, therefore, appropriate to conclude that employer is the strong party. Such exploitation is disgraceful and further deplorable as in many cases the exploiter seems to be one of the family as 57.40 per cent of the children work in family run firms. But the fact is that the child labour is employed at the household due to socio-economic compulsions.

The status of working children can be reflected by the pattern of wage collection among the working children to some extent. Similarly, it gives some clue about the exploitation and attitude of parents towards their children. It is irony that the working children do not have their right on the income earned by them on the one hand and the keen concern of parents on the earning of their children as well as the economic condition of the households on the other. Data regarding the pattern of wage collection of children working

in glass industry indicates that more than half of the working children do not have the prerogative of collecting their wages from their employers. Parents of 48.80 per cent working children and relatives of 2.80 per cent children collect the wages of their children (Table 5.14). The working children constituting 48.40 per cent collect their wages directly from their employers.

Table 5.14 : Pattern of Wage Collection Among the Working Children

Collection of Wages By	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
Self	244	48.80
Parents	242	48.40
Local Guardians	14	2.80
Others	—	—
Total	500	100.00

As we have found that the income earned by the working children is collected by their parents and guardians in more than half of the cases. The whole amount of income earned by the working children go to the hands of parents whether the wages earned by children is collected by the parents or by the children themselves. The opinion of the children is not asked by the parents about the disposal of the money

earned by them and the heads of the households decide about the spending. However, a small portion of their earnings is given to the working children as pocket money. just 55.20 per cent of the working children have reported that they get pocket money from the parents and this facility is not extended to most of the working children. Data reveal that of the total income earned by the working children, only 12.32 per cent is given to the working children in the form of pocket money. In the other words, the working children have right on only 12.32 per cent portion of their earnings. This analysis highlights the level of exploitation of working children, given the state of poverty among the households whose survival depends on the earnings of their children. On an average, Rs.41 per child is given in a month as pocket money to the working children.

The amount of pocket money depends on the level of earnings of child workers and the attitude of parents to the children and their socio-economic conditions. When we analyse the data regarding the levels of pocket money we find that a large number of working children (74.28 per cent of the working children who are being given pocket money) receive over Rs.41 per month as pocket money (Table 5.15). The second largest category of working children constituting 16.66 per cent who get pocket money, is between Rs.21 to Rs.30. The working children, who are given less than Rs.10 per month as pocket money constituted 2.54 per cent (Table 5.15). The second largest category of working children

Table 5.15 : Level of Pocket Money Given to Child Workers

Monthly Pocket Money (Rs.)	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
Upto 10	7	2.54
11 - 20	17	6.16
21 - 30	46	16.66
31 - 40	1	0.36
Above 40	205	74.28
Total	276	100.00

constituting 16.66 per cent who get pocket money, is between Rs.21 to Rs.30. The working children, who are given less than Rs.10 per month as pocket money constituted 2.54 per cent (Table 5.15).

Data are also collected from the working children about the main items on which they generally spend the pocket money. Snacks, entertainment, smoking and gambling are the main items, on which the working children spend their pocket money. Expenditure on snacks is the major item on which about 90 per cent of the pocket money is spent. Money in hand also lead, some children to evils of smoking or chewing tobacco.

Due to lack of incentive, motivation, awareness and small amount of money available with the working children,

the saving habit is not seen among the working children. Out of 500 child workers in the sample, only 3 child workers have reported that they have saved about Rs.330 from their pocket money. About mode of saving among the working children, the data revealed that they have deposited the savings in the banks.

V.3 Children's Perception and Attitude Towards Their Work and Use

During the discussions with the working children, it was observed that the work is not liked by majority of the working children. They do not want to work in their childhood. The activities in which they are engaged or the work in which they are employed is not liked by 80.8 per cent of the working children. Due to compulsion and extreme poverty they are forced to work for money. The working children have given various reasons for not liking the work.

Information regarding the attitude of working children towards the work is also collected. Data pertaining to the attitude of the working children towards the work revealed that 80.80 per cent working children are not interested in doing the job and they do not like to work (Table 5.16). Just a handful (19.20 per cent) of working children are genuine by showing interest in the work. This expression may also be more for concealing the condition those revealing it.

Table 5.16 : Attitude of the Child Workers Towards Work

Attitude	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
Number of child workers who like to work	96	19.20
Number of child workers who do not like to work	404	80.80
Total	500	100.00

Among the working children (who do not like to work), 74.50 per cent detest work because the nature of work in which they are engaged is dangerous. About 15.34 per cent working children reported that they dislike the work because wages are very low and burden of work is very much (Table 5.17). Similarly, some of the working children are not

Table 5.17 : Reasons for not Liking Work

Reasons for not Liking Work	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
Dangerous/injurious work	301	74.50
Low wages but more work	62	15.34
Work done at night	3	0.74
Want to attend school	38	9.42
Total	404	100.00

interested in work as they want to attend school and to get education. This reason is given by 9.42 per cent of the working children for not liking work. In some cases, the work is done at night by the children and the night work is disliked by some of them.

Out of the 500 working children in the sample, only 19.20 per cent have shown their interest in the job in which they are engaged. Mainly two reasons have been reported by them for liking the work. Among them, monetary benefit is the main reason as reported by majority (97.92 per cent) of the working children who like the work. A few of them (2.08 per cent) feel that the work done by them is not harmful (Table 5.18).

Table 5.18 : Reasons for Liking the Work

Reasons for Liking the Work	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
To earn money	94	97.92
Harmless work	2	2.08
Total	96	100.00

As we have seen that majority of the working children engaged in glass manufacturing industry are not interested in doing the work. Due to compulsion they are working in the hazardous industry. Several reasons have been given by the working children which have compelled them to seek

employment. Out of 500 working children, 393 have started to do work due to compulsion and several reasons have been given by them which compelled for doing work. Extreme poverty has been the basic reason for entering in labour force in the case of 73.54 per cent working children among those who do not want to be employed (Table 5.19). In some cases, the other compulsion is that there are no earning members due to sickness or death of the parents in 4.58 per cent of the households, as a result their children are compelled to seek employment. The attitude of parents is also one of factors responsible for compelling the children to earn money. The parents compelled the children to do work as reported by 6.87 per cent working children. To supplement household income is also one of the reasons for work compulsion in the case of more than 15 per cent cases (Table 5.19).

Table 5.19 : Work Compulsion for Working Child

Reasons for Work Compulsion	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
Poverty	289	73.54
Parents' sickness or death	18	4.58
Compulsion of parents	27	6.87
To supplement household income	59	15.01
Total	393	100.00

The working children are asked about their attitude towards work as well as their preferences. The analysis of data regarding the opinion of the working children revealed that except for 31.60 per cent children who show interest in furthering their education, the remaining want to remain in the labour market. Nearly 39 per cent of the working children want more training for a better future, 15.80 per cent want to continue to same work and 13.80 per cent are keen to switch over to a better job (Table 5.20).

Table 5.20 : Aspirations/Preferences of the Working Child

Description	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
Like to continue work	79	15.80
Like to get more training	194	38.80
Wants to Switch over	69	13.80
Wants to go back to school	158	31.60
Total	500	100.00

A mere 9.00 per cent of the total 500 working children are given weekly holidays by their employers. Employers slave drive these children without a day of rest. Lack of enough rest leads to ill health and fatigue which has a long term toll - an unhealthy child grows into an unhealthy

adult. Out of total 500 children 88.60 per cent work in the day and 11.40 per cent at night. Night shifts increase the occupational hazards risking the safety of children.

The favourite means of recreation among children is playing. A little more than 71 per cent prefer to play, 27 per cent enjoy roaming around the fields and alley of their village, 17.40 per cent think it wise to rest in the leisure time they get. Very few utilise their time by reading. This shows that neither the children nor their families are education-oriented. All such perceptions of the working children in fact present confusions among them because of the conditions in which they live and work.

Table 5.21 : Ways of Spending Leisure Time

Ways of Spending Leisure Time	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
Playing	357	71.40
Walking/Roaming	135	27.00
Taking Rest	87	17.40
Reading	3	0.60
Gossiping	—	—

Besides working in glass manufacturing units for wages many children contribute towards household work also. A little more than 18 per cent of them go out to fetch water

from the village wells/ponds and collect fire wood. Some (11.20 per cent) run errand for their mothers bringing things from the market. A few (4.20 per cent) lend a helping hand in the fields looking after farm and cattle. For these children existence is tough.

Table 5.22 : Nature of Household Work Done by Child Labour

Nature of Work	Child Workers	
	Number	Percentage
To bring things from the market	56	11.20
To collect water and cooking fuel	91	18.20
Work related with agriculture and animal husbandary	21	4.20

V.4 Concluding Notes

The present chapter contains most vital part of the study. The age-sex distribution of the working children shows that 81 per cent of them are males and most of them (i.e. 96.40 per cent) belong to the age group of 7 years and above. A little more than 92 per cent of the working children enter into the present job belonging to the age-group of 7 years and above. But the entry of about 8 per cent of them into the job with upto 7 years of age is also

noteworthy. The illiterate children and those with primary education upto the primary level, numbered 470 (i.e. 227+243) constitute 94 per cent of the total 500 children. This reflects how they are pitiable in term of education. Many of them (i.e. 45.40 per cent) could never attend the school and about 35 per cent of them dropped out due to their compelling situation. However, 20 per cent of the working children are still attending the school, while being in the job. A little more than 13 per cent of the working children had worked in the past before joining the present job and they had to leave their past job due to a number of causes as presented in Table 5:6. All 500 children are working for wage income and about 23 per cent of them are still under training. Most of them live with their respective parents. A little more than 57 per cent of the working children work at home and the rest in factories who go to their work place on foot. Some of them also use bycycle as a mode of transport.

The pattern and distribution of wage income regarding working children shows that 69 per cent of the total working children belong to the monthly income group of upto Rs.400 and they do not get more than Rs.14 per day. About 35 per cent of them belong to the income-group of upto Rs.150 and the per child worker daily income is from Rs.2.20 to Rs.8.09. There are only 9 pr cent of the working children who belong to the income group of Rs.600 to Rs.800 and get daily average wages from Rs.22.56 to Rs.32.28. But the classification of working children according to working hours

put in work shows that a little more 65 per cent of the total working children work 6 to 10 + hours per day. The relationship between wage income and duration of work indicates that the income the working children receive and labour time put in work are not consistent. It exposes the case of exploitation of child labour in the glass industry. Moreover, about 49 per cent of the working children collect wages by themselves and for the rest of the working children, wages are collected by their parents and local guardians. On the top of it, only 276 of the 500 working children are given for some pocket money. Most of the 276 children, (i.e. 205), get pocket money worth of Rs.40 and more per month.

The children's perception and attitude towards work make us clear that about 81 per cent of them do not like to work due to a number of causes as presented in Table 5.17. The most noteworthy reason in this regard is the dangerous and injurious nature of work as about 75 per cent of them have reported. About 98 per cent of those children who like to work, have reported so because they want to earn money. In fact, their liking for work conceals their disliking but they were not strong to express it because of their compulsion to earn money.

This becomes clear when 393 workers were explicit in reporting their socio-economic compulsions at the household level. They work due to poverty, as about 74 per cent of the 393 working children stated. The rest of these children

have given other compelling reasons due to which they work in the industry.

The children not only work hard (despite having no liking for work) and put in more than six hours per day; but also do their household work in some form or other. In addition, they do not get leisure during working period nor are given weekly holidays. About 89 per cent of the working children reported this. They do not have recreation facilities and so most of them play and roam here and there. All this shows the pitiable conditions in which the children work and child labour is exploited in the glass industry. It also indicates how the given socio-economic system reproduces child labour and how the child labour is abused there.

CHAPTER VI

Physical Development, Health Hazards and Social Infrastructures

Among all the assets a nation has the most vital is the quality of its human resource. The quality of human resource is reflected and determined by the health status of children and their care. The child workers of Ferozabad glass works are an integral part of the fast growing resource. These child workers are not a particularly healthy lot. Overwork and low calorie intake make them prone to disease decreasing their efficiency (now and for the future) and life expectancy. Illness related with inadequate nutrition and occupation undermine their health effecting the total quality of the labour force. Their condition is further worsened due to their lack of awareness and receptiveness of welfare measures initiated by the government for their benefit. To a certain extent the government itself is to blame for the failure of its programmes among the masses as effective steps have not been taken to ensure their widespread acceptance. Legislation pertaining to labour is known to very few weakening their position and making them suffer at the hands of employers.

In view of the above, this chapter makes an attempt to discuss the implications of child labour abuse on the physical development and health of the working children, the

availability of social infrastructures and their utilisation to benefit them at Ferozabad.

VI.1 Physical Development

Let us begin with the case of physical development of the working children. Weight and height are taken to be good enough to measure the physical development of the working children. The age-wise medically prescribed standard norms of weight and height were taken from 'Davidson's Principles and Practice of Medicine, edited by John Macleod, 1975' were taken for presenting the children with or below standard weight and height, having their actual weights and heights through the field surveys.

The classification of the working children, according to weight in the sample taken from Ferozabad indicates that only 10 children in the sample have the standard weight prescribed medically for various ages, out of which 9 are males (Table 6.1). Of the 16 children there are 14 male children above standard weight showing again the indifference of the society towards the health of the working female child as 95 per cent of the children in the sample have less than the prescribed standard weight. This shows a somewhat negative correlation between the work of the child and his/her physical development in terms of weight. The analysis of data related to weight of the working children reveals that a majority of them are underweight which

highlights the physical condition of the children engaged in hazardous industry. Perhaps the health of the working children is deteriorated by working in the glass industry and the undernourished food given by their parents due to poverty.

Table 6.1 : Classification of Working Children According to Weight

Age (Yrs)	Sex	Standard weight (Kgs.)	No. of Working Children			Total
			With stan- dard weight	Less than standard weight	More than standard weight	
6	M	22	-	9	4	13
	F	21	-	3	1	4
7	M	25	1	8	1	10
	F	25	1	4	-	5
8	M	26	1	14	-	15
	F	26	-	12	1	13
9	M	30	1	22	-	23
	F	27	-	14	1	15
10	M	32	-	43	1	44
	F	33	-	18	-	18
11	M	35	2	30	-	32
	F	37	-	12	-	12
12	M	39	-	91	4	95
	F	43	-	16	-	16
13	M	42	3	150	3	156
	F	49	-	11	-	11
14	M	45	1	17	-	18
	F	54	-	-	-	-
Total			10	474	16	500

The classification of working children according to height shows the physical development of the children in the sample in terms of height. In Ferozabad, no working child in the sample has the standard height as medically prescribed for various ages. 99 per cent of the children are below standard

Table 6.2 : Classification of Working Children According to Height

Age (Yrs)	Sex	No. of working children	Standard height (inches)	No. of children with standard height	No. of children below standard height	No. of children above standard height
6	M	13	46.85	-	12	1
	F	4				
7	M	10	48.43	-	10	-
	F	5	48.43	-	5	-
8	M	15	50.39	-	15	-
	F	13	50.00	-	13	-
9	M	23	52.76	-	23	-
	F	15	51.97	-	15	-
10	M	44	54.33	-	44	-
	F	18	54.72	-	18	-
11	M	32	56.30	-	32	-
	F	12	56.69	-	12	-
12	M	95	58.66	-	93	2
	F	16	59.06	-	16	-
13	M	156	60.63	-	156	-
	F	11	61.02	-	11	-
14	M	18	62.99	-	18	-
	F	-	62.99	-	-	-
Total		500			497	3

height while only 3 male children in the sample are above the prescribed standard height for their ages. This is indicative of the fact that among the working children below the age of 14 years retard physical development in terms of height.

VI.2 Health Hazards

Data pertaining to immunisation of children below six years in the sample households reveals that out of the 415 children below 6 years of age 65.3 per cent have been immunized. This shows the growing awareness of parents

Table 6.3 : Children Below 6 Years of Age and Their Immunization Status in the Sample Households

Level of Immunization	Name of Item				
	D P T	Polio	B C G	Measles	Total
<u>Total no. of children below 6 years</u>					
Male (227)	-	-	-	-	-
Female (188)	-	-	-	-	-
Total (415)	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Children Immunized</u>					
Male	45	54	39	38	176
Female	23	31	22	19	95
Total	68	85	61	57	271
<u>Percentage of Children Immunized</u>					
Male	19.82	23.79	17.18	16.74	77.53
Female	12.23	16.49	11.70	10.11	50.53
Total	16.39	20.48	14.70	13.73	65.30

regarding immunization of their children against various diseases. Sex-wise figure shows that about 78 per cent of the total male children have been immunized while only 50.5 per cent of the total females have been immunized (Table 6.3). Parents are more concerned about their male offsprings and their health while females are forced to take the back seat in such matters. Polio drops are given to 20.48 per cent of the children below 6 years while 16.39 per cent children have been immunised from DPT (Table 6.3).

Table 6.4 highlights the usual practice of people regarding the treatment when they fell ill. Among the households in the sample reporting illness for the last 6

Table 6.4 : Illness and Centre of Treatment

Description	Number	Percentage
1. Sample Households	500	100.00
2. Households reporting illness for last 6 months	466	93.20
3. Centre or place of treatment		
i) PHC	5	1.07
ii) Dispensaries	5	1.07
iii) Pvt. practioners	350	75.11
iv) ESI dispensary	3	0.64
v) District Hospital	37	7.94
vi) Not taken treatment in these places	66	14.17
vii) Others	-	-

months, 75 per cent have gone to private practitioners for treatment. Few people go to dispensaries or district hospitals for treatment. The reason for the massive popularity of private practitioners could be the effective treatment and attention that the people in the sample receive here. The households responded that the district hospitals neither give due attention to patients nor are the medicines supplied.

The analysis of data regarding the method of treatment in the sample household indicated that mostly the treatment is done through allopathic system of medicine. Of 93.2 per cent of the sample households reporting illness for the last 6 months, 90.12 per cent have used the allopathic medicine (Table 6.5). Ayurvedic medicines are next in order of popularity while some people also used the homeopathic

Table 6.5 : Illness and Method of Treatment in the Household

Description	Number	Percentage
Number of sample households	500	100.00
Number of households reporting sickness for the last 6 months	466	93.20
System of medicine availed	420	90.13
(i) Allopathic	420	90.13
(ii) Ayurvedic	35	7.51
(iii) Homeopathic	11	2.36
(iv) Unani	-	-
(v) Native	-	-
(vi) Home remedies	-	-

medicine. The reason for the enormous popularity of allopathic medicines could be the easy availability and quick relief that they give.

Of the 3.6 per cent of the working children in the sample having external problems related to health, 2.8 per cent are inflicted with cracked lip/sore mouth, 0.4 per cent of the children are inflicted with ulcer on the skin or scabies while some children have bleeding gums and dental caries also. On the whole, few children in the sample have health problems related to external diseases. But our informal interviews with some medical practitioners indicated that most of the working children suffer from back pain, eye sight problems, and tendency for T.B. in future if they continue to work for 5 years or more without a break.

As many as 234 working children (46.8 per cent) reported sickness during the past twelve months from the time of

Table 6.6 : Health Status of the Working Children

Problems Related to Health	Working Children Having Problems =====	
	Number	Percentage
Dispigmented hair	-	-
Bleeding gums	1	0.20
Dental caries	1	0.20
Crack in lip/soured mouth	14	2.80
Ulcer on skin/scabies	2	0.40
Total	18	3.60

the survey. Among those sick, the percentage of working children who fell sick frequently was recorded higher. This high rate of morbidity can be attributed to low calorie diet leading to malnutrition coupled with hard labour. The two together reduce body resistance making the child susceptible to frequent illness. However, 53.2 per cent of the working children have never fallen sick for the last 12 months (Table 6.6).

Table 6.7 : Morbidity Among Working Children During Past Twelve Months

Frequency of Sickness	Working Children	
	Number	Percentage
Fallen sick often (more than 5 times)	53	10.60
Fallen sick occasionally (less than 5 times)	181	36.20
Not fallen sick	266	53.20
Total	500	100.00

Information related to type of morbidity among working children reveals that morbidity attacks children in many forms. Most (83.33 per cent) of the 234 sick children are prone to frequent bouts of fever. Lack of sense of hygiene and clean drinking water makes 25.64 per cent children susceptible to stomach ache, cholera, etc. and 0.85 per cent

to jaundice (Table 6.8). Working in close proximity to furnaces emitting harmful gases and smoke leads to other ailments as colds, cough, asthma (6.12 per cent) and skin diseases (1.70 per cent). Exposure to high temperatures and poisonous gas weaken the child's delicate body balance thereby making him prey of all kinds of illness.

Table 6.8 : Type of Morbidity Among Working Children

Type of Sickness	Working Children	
	Number	Percentage of Total Children Reporting Morbidity During Past Twelve Months
Fever	195	83.33
Diseases related with the stomach (pain, cholera, etc.)	60	25.64
Skin diseases	4	1.70
Jaundice	2	0.85
Small pox	1	0.42
Cold & cough (Asthama)	12	5.12
Polio	5	2.13
T.B.	-	-

During survey of the child workers engaged in glass manufacturing processes, it is found that not only the child workers fall ill due to poor quality of their food intake and unhygienic conditions around them, but they become sick due

to working in the industry and the nature of work. The sickness related to their industry is a common phenomenon among the working children. Data in this context revealed that 22.8 per cent of the working children in the sample are suffering from one disease or other due to the nature of work they are made to do in the industry. Over-burdened with work, dangerous work and work with harmful substances are some of the reasons responsible for sickness among the working children.

VI.3 Social Infrastructures and Awareness

The level of infrastructure related to health, education and welfare measures and their utilisation are the basic factors responsible for the development of children in any area. According to the information collected from the working children regarding the above mentioned facilities in their areas, it has been found that health, education and welfare facilities are available near their homes. But the level of utilisation of these facilities by the working children is extremely low. As much as 78 per cent of working children reported that near their homes, the educational institutions are located but only 15.4 per cent use them (Table 6.9). However, the educational facilities are not provided near the factory. Health facilities near homes are provided in the case of 42.20 per cent of the working children and about 3 per cent of them reported this facility near the factories. Due to one reason or other only 3.4 per

cent of the working children use the health facilities (Table 6.9). Welfare facilities for the development of children are rarely provided in the areas where the survey was conducted. Hardly 2.8 per cent of the working children reported about the welfare facilities near their homes.

Table 6.9 : Level of Facilities of Health, Education and Their Utilisation

Description	No. of Child Workers Giving Positive Answer	Percentage of Child Workers Giving Positive Answer
1. Education Facilities Provided		
(i) Near home	390	78.00
(ii) Near factory	-	-
2. Child Workers Use the Education facilities	77	15.40
3. Health Facilities Provided		
(i) Near home	211	42.20
(ii) Near factory	15	3.00
4. Child Workers Use the Health Facilities	17	3.40
5. Welfare Facilities Provided		
(i) Near home	14	2.80
(ii) Near factory	-	-
6. Child Workers Use the Welfare Facilities	4	0.80

A majority of the child workers are not using the educational, health and welfare facilities that are existed near their homes. Various reasons have been given by the working children for not using these facilities. As far as medical and health facilities are concerned, about 25 per cent of the working children reported that medicine is not made available to them in the hospitals and dispensaries. It was also felt by 8.6 per cent of the working children that

Table 6.10 : Reasons for not Using the Educational, Health and Welfare Facilities

Sl. No.	Reasons for not Using Facilities	Working Children	
		Number	Percentage
1	Medicine does not give relief	43	8.6
2	Medicine not available	123	24.6
3	Due to poverty, work becomes essential, no time to study	143	28.6
4	Parents ill/dead	6	1.2
5	No child welfare programme	-	-
6	Nobody cares in government hospitals	5	1.0
7	Not interested in studying	9	1.8
8	Parents compel to do work	32	6.4
9	Schools are far from home	21	4.2
10	Hospitals are too far	20	4.0

medicines provided by hospitals do not give relief and are not effective (Table 6.10). Due to poverty and illness of their parents, about 29.0 per cent of the working children could not avail of the educational facilities because for them work becomes essential to earn money for their livelihood. Similarly, the socio-economic compulsions of their parents, make them work for wages and they are not in position to utilise the educational and other welfare facilities, as reported by 6.4 per cent of the working children. Schools, hospitals and welfare centres are not used by some of the working children because these institutions are located far from their approach.

Generally, it is said that rehabilitation centres are established by government agencies as well as by voluntary organisations to rehabilitate the child labour as well as to discourage the practice of child labour, particularly in those areas where the magnitude of child labour is alarming. However, the field observations noted that there are about 12 schools and shelters established in the Ferozabad for the rehabilitation of child labour. Data pertaining to awareness

Table 6.11 : Awareness of Rehabilitation Centres

Number of Child Workers	Awareness of Rehabilitation Centres		Percentage of Child Workers Who Are Aware
	Aware	Not Aware	
500	110	390	22.0

about the rehabilitation centres among the working children and the benefits derived by them from the rehabilitation centres indicate that only 22 per cent working children are found aware about these centres.

Information collected from the working children about the types of facilities provided in the rehabilitation centres indicates that 22 per cent of the children in the sample knew about the health, medical, and education facilities are provided by the centres. Facilities of entertainment and recreation provided by the rehabilitation centres as reported by 22 per cent children. The information about the provision of food and shelter in these rehabilitation centres is known to the 7 per cent of the working children.

Table 6.12 : Type of Facilities in the Rehabilitation Centres Reported by Child Workers

Type of Facilities	No. of Child Workers Reporting Facilities	Percentage of Child Workers Reporting Facilities
Health and medical facilities	110	22.0
Education and school	110	22.0
Shelter and home	35	7.0
Food and nutrition	110	22.0
Entertainment and recreation	110	22.0

As we have seen that only 110 working children (22 per cent) are aware about the rehabilitation centres at Ferozabad. Of the 110 children who are aware of the facilities provided by rehabilitation centres, only 6.36 per cent of the children have used them. Among the working children who are aware about the rehabilitation centres and the facilities provided by them about 93.64 per cent of the working children are not using (could not use) the facilities. The level of awareness about the rehabilitation centres among the working children highlights the fact that the programme of rehabilitation of child labour has been a matter of documents and practically it has a little impact.

Table 6.13 : Utilisation of Facilities Provided by Rehabilitation Centres

Description	Working Children	
	Number	Percentage
Facilities are being used	7	6.36
Facilities are not being used	103	93.64
Facilities were used but dropped	-	-
Total Number of Awared	110	100.00

Out of the 110 child workers in the sample who are aware of the facilities provided by the rehabilitation centres 103 are not using them. Various reasons have been pointed out by

the non-users. Due to poverty, 38.46 per cent of them could not utilise as they do not get time because it is necessary to earn money for them. Some of the working children tried to get admission in the centres but they were not admitted as reported by 20.19 per cent of the aware working children (Table 6.14). Moreover, a similar proportion of the working children pointed out that these centres are opened recently and they have not yet decided to join. Similarly, 10.58 per cent of the non-users reported that they received knowledge about the centres recently.

Table 6.14 : Reasons for not Using Facilities Provided By Rehabilitation Centres

Reasons for not Using the Facilities	Working Children	
	Number	Percentage
Not interested	8	7.70
Due to poverty it is necessary to earn money	40	38.46
Recently came to know about centre	11	10.58
Tried but could not get admission	21	20.19
Those centres are recently opened	21	20.19
Parents do not allow and compell to do work	2	1.92
Centres are located at considerable distance	1	0.96
Total	104	94.55

Of the 7 child workers engaged in glass manufacturing industry who used the facilities provided by the rehabilitation centres only 3 are satisfied after using them. 57 per cent of the children are dissatisfied after using the same facilities.

Table 6.15 : Awareness of Labour Laws Among the Households

Legislation	No. of Households Who Are Aware	No. of Households Who Are Unaware	Percentage	
			=====	
			Aware	Unaware
Minimum wages	125	375	25.00	75.00
Accident compensation	118	382	23.60	76.40
ESI	138	362	27.60	72.40
Provident fund	127	373	25.40	74.60
Child labour	128	372	25.60	74.40
Others	2	498	0.40	99.60

The concept of rehabilitation programme for child labour in India is not getting its due attention. The objectives behind the programme are not being fulfilled as evident by the fact that numbers of such rehabilitation centres are not enough on the one hand, and on the other, the knowledge about such centres is confined to a limited number of working children. Perhaps motivation to join such centres is not upto the mark among the working children. Similarly the services provided by these rehabilitation centres are not

satisfactory as proved by the fact that a negligible proportion of the working children who used the facilities are found satisfied.

The success of any law or act depends on the awareness about it to a great extent. Implementation of law or act is determined by the level of awareness. Awareness of labour laws is not widespread among sample households. Of those aware maximum know about ESI. Other laws ranked according to awareness being child labour (26.50 per cent aware), Provident fund (25.40 per cent aware), minimum wages (25.00 per cent aware), and accident compensation (23.60 per cent aware). Ignorance among the majority makes way for exploitation of the labour force. Moreover the concerned Government officials do not also motivate the child workers in this regard. Their apathetic concern is also one of the reason for lacking awareness among the children about all this.

Table 6.16 reveals that the Government has not been successful in spreading awareness to its programmes in general. The Integrated Rural Development Programme is known to 30.20 per cent of the sample households (Table 6.16). But only 12.23 per cent of the 151 households having awared of it derive benefits from the programme. Just about a quarter (24.80 per cent) of the households know about ICDS, of these only 20.1% per cent utilise the benefits of the scheme. TRYSEM and adult education programmes are known to 3.40 per

Table 6.16 : Awareness and Benefits of Governmental Programmes

Government Programmes	Aware		Unaware	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
IRDP	151	30.20	23	15.23
TRYSEM	17	3.40	—	—
JRY	88	17.60	23	26.13
ICDS	124	24.80	30	24.19
Adult Education	88	17.60	18	20.45
Others	5	1.00	—	—

cent and 17.60 per cent of the households. But none of them utilise benefits of TRYSEM whereas only 20.45 per cent attend adult education courses.

A mere 5 per cent of the sample households took membership of credit societies in their vicinity. Out of these 24.00 per cent took loans from them. This data shows that credit societies are not very popular in the households of the areas which have been surveyed in district Ferozabad.

VI.4 Concluding Notes

The first implication that arises from the abuse of child labour in the glass industry is on the retarded

physical development of the working children. The weight and height of most of the children are below the medically prescribed standard norm. This reflects their poor health and physical fitness.

About 65.30 per cent of the working children are found to have been immunised but 93.20 per cent of the sample households are reported to have suffered from illness for last six months. A majority of the sick households consulted private practitioners for treatment and they preferred the allopathic system to the Ayurvedic or Homeopathic or Unani or other system. As many as 234 working children reported to have fallen sick during last 12 months. Among those sick, the proportion of working children who fell sick frequently was quite high. This high rate of morbidity may be attributed to hard work of long duration but with low calorie intake value leading to malnutrition. The working children do not use educational and health facilities, whatsoever are available near to them. There is a complex of reasons expressed by them. Among them notably are their poverty and non-availability of medicines.

There are certain centres to rehabilitate the working children and to discourage them from working as child labour. But only 22 per cent of the working children were aware of the existence of such centres. However, of 110 children having aware of these centres and facilities available

there, only 7 child workers used the facilities available at the centres. Those who could not use the facilities put forward a number of reasons for it. Among the reasons expressed by them were notably their poverty and their compulsions to earn money and non-accessibility to the centres for using the available facilities.

A majority of the working children were also not aware of labour laws and other legal provisions concerning the minimum wages, accident compensation, P.F., etc. This shows the failure of the concerned government officials in making the existing laws or acts or legal provisions aware among the parents and the working children at Ferozabad.

The working children (and obviously their parents) were also not aware of the various schemes and programmes launched by the Government. Table 6.16 shows that only 30.20 per cent of the children were aware of IRDP and few derived benefits from this programme. About 25 per cent of them were aware of ICDS and gained from it. So far other programmes such as TRYSEM, JRY and Adult Education, etc. are concerned, they were known to a small proportion of the working children and they derived benefits from these programmes. Lack of awareness among the working children about the operation of different government schemes and programmes refers to the apathy of the concerned officials towards those who desire special attention in this regard.

All this shows how the working children suffer from health hazards leading to their physical under-development and ill-health which is a slur on the part of the society and polity. The apathetic attitude of the concerned officials in particular and the government in general towards the working children is deplorable.

CHAPTER VII

Legal Status and Aspects of Child Labour

(Child Labour Policy)

Children are universally recognised as the most important asset and the future hope of the society. A society's civilization is measured on how it protects and cares for its children. It is well-known fact that numerous child labourers who work to augment their family income are exploited and victimised. To develop the physical and mental potentials among the children is the key factor in the strategy of human resource development. Historically, the institutions of child workers has existed since time immemorial, children have been helping and working with their parents and with their elders. The work performed by children working as child labour is usually classified as (a) paid, or (b) unpaid. Wage employment for children is offered in most cases by relatively small industrial units, almost always located in the unorganised sector. The productive activities of household work done by children, are generally, unpaid. The salient features of child labour can be figured as (i) the number of children working as child labour is growing; (ii) the bulk of child labour is employed in the unorganised sector; and (iii) children are made to work in much hazardous occupations.

The report IV(I) of 57th Session of International Labour Conference, Geneva, 1972 indicated that 90 per cent or more of the child population is engaged in the employment market in the developing regions of the world. The report has also indicated that 41,125000 children making 5.1 per cent of the whole of 0-14 years age group were engaged in 1960, and in 1970, the number was reduced to 39,975000 which formed 4 per cent of all children.

To protect the interest of the children, the International Labour Organisation has adopted many conventions and recommendations regarding the minimum age for entrance into the employment, night work by young persons and their medical examination. There have been several other efforts to tackle the child labour problem and the eradication of child labour. The Twenty-third Session of the International Labour Conference, 1937, had adopted a convention in which a special article for India was inserted, fixing the minimum age at which children be employed or may work in certain occupation. The United Nations General Assembly adopted on the 21st December, 1976, the Resolution 31/169 proclaiming the year 1979 as the International Year of the Child. The objective behind this Resolution was to create world-wide consciousness towards promoting the well-being of children, draw attention to their special needs and encouraging national action on behalf of children, particularly, for the least privileged and those who were at work. The decision of United Nations to observe 1979 as the

International Year of Child has once again focussed world attention on the problem of child labour.

The International Labour Organisation has made several conventions to safe-guard the interest of the children by fixing the minimum age for child employment. Some of the main conventions are the following :

1. The Minimum Age (Industry) Convention, 1919.
2. The Minimum Age (Agricultural) Convention, 1921.
3. The Minimum Age (Trimmers and Stockers) Convention, 1921.
4. The Minimum Age (Non-Industrial Employment) Convention, 1932.
5. The Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1937.
6. The Minimum Age (Fisherman) Convention, 1959.
7. The Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention, 1965.
8. The Minimum Age Convention, 1973.

The conventions related to medical examination of the child wrkers :

1. The Medical Examination of Young Persons (Sea) Convention, 1921.
1. The Medical Examination of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1946.

Conventions related to night work of the children:

1. Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention, 1919.
2. Night Work of Young Persons (Industry) Convention (Revised), 1948.

In our country, the history of legal protection to the child labour through enactments is started more than 100 years back. The first Protective Legislation for Child Labour was enacted in 1881. The Act known as the Indian Factories Act of 1881. In 1891, the Indian Factories Act was enacted on the recommendations of a Factory Commission which was appointed by the Government of India in 1890. Under the Act of 1891, the lower age was extended from 7 to 9 years. The upper age was also extended from 12 to 14 years. The children were not allowed to work at night. In 1901, Mines Act was passed, which prohibited the employment of children under 12 years of age. The Factories Act of 1911 reduced the working hours of children in factories to 6 hours a day.

Next step in the history of child labour law was the Indian Factories (Amendments) Act of 1922 which pre enacted to give effect to International Labour Conventions on the minimum age of admission of children to employment. The Indian Factory Act of 1911 was further amended in 1926 for some administrative purposes.

In 1931, again the Indian Factories Act of 1911 was further amended to bring certain minor changes for administrative purpose. In the same year the Indian Ports (amendment) Act, 1931 prescribed a minimum age of 12 years for the employment of children in the handling of goods in ports. In 1935, Indian Mines (amendment) Act, 1935 regulated the working conditions and hours of work in mines. This amendment prohibited the employment of children under 15

years in mines. Subsequent acts regulated the employment of children in specific sectors of the economy in each instance imposing a minimum age for child employment. The Employment of Children Act (1938) was the first Act devoted entirely to child labour.

After Independence, the first step regarding the employment of children was the amendment of the Factories Act, in 1948 which raised the minimum age for entering into employment in Factories, to 14 years. The ILO convention relating to night work of young persons was responsible for an amendment in 1951 in the employment of children Act which prohibits the employment of children below 15 and 17 years at night in Railway and Ports. The employers were required to maintain register for children under 17 years. In 1951, Plantation Labour Act was passed in order to prevent the employment of children under 12 years in plantation. The Indian Mines Act was enacted in 1952 which prohibits the employment of children under 15 years in mines.

There are certain provisions in our Constitution which protect the children against their exploitation. The Constitutional provisions relating to children are as follows :

Article 15(3) of the Constitution lays down that "Nothing in this article shall prevent the State from making any special provision for women and children".

Article 24 provides that "No child below the age of 14 shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in other hazardous employment".

The following major legislative enactments which provide legal protection to children in various occupations, these are :

1. Factories Act, 1948
2. Mines Act, 1952
3. Plantation Labour Act, 1951
4. Merchant Shipping Act, 1958
5. Motor Transport Works Act, 1961
6. Dock Workers' Regulation and Employment Act, 1948
7. Children (Pledging of Labour) Act, 1933
8. Employment of Children Act, 1938
9. Apprentices Act, 1961
10. Bidi and Cigar Works (conditions of employment) Act, 1966
11. Contract Labour (Regulation and Abolition) Act, 1970
12. Radiation Protection Rules, 1971 - Under the Atomic Energy Act, 1962
13. Shops and Commercial Establishment Acts Under different nomenclatures in States.
14. The Child Labour (Provision and Regulation) Act, 1986

The Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, Government of India, which had prepared a National Plan of Action for the International Year of the Child has started the following

programme regarding child labour. "All State Governments and Union Territories should be requested to adopt a comprehensive piece of legislation to protect the health, safety and welfare of working children below the age of 18 years, such a legislation may cover working hours and conditions, rest, pause, wages, leave, health, education, prevention of cruelty, hazards to and exploitation of children in employment or under apprenticeship training".

The main thrust of the Indian laws and International Labour Organisation Conventions regarding the employment of children have been on three matters: (i) Minimum age; (ii) Medical examination; and (iii) Night work.

VII.1 The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986

The Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986 prohibits the employment of children in certain occupations and processes and regulate the conditions of work of children in certain other occupations. The content of the Act is divided into the following parts :

Part I	:	Preliminary
Part II	:	Prohibition of employment of children in certain occupations and processes
Part III	:	Regulation of conditions of work of children
Part IV	:	Miscellaneous

The Child Labour Act 1986, has its two important contents :

VII.1.1 Prohibition of Employment of Children in
Certain Occupations and Processes

1. The main occupations in which the child employment is prohibited

No child shall be employed or permitted to work in any of the occupations connected with :

- (a) Transport of passengers, goods or mails by railways;
- (b) Cinder picking, cleaning of an ash pit or building operation in the railway premises;
- (c) Work in a catering establishment at a railway station, involving the movement of a vendor or any other employees of the establishment from one platform to another or into or out of a moving train;
- (d) Work relating to the construction of a railway station or with any other work where such work is done in close proximity to or between the railway lines;
- (e) A port authority within the limits of any port.

2. Child Employment is Prohibited in the following Processes

- (a) Bidi-making
- (b) Carpet weaving
- (c) Cement manufacturing (including bagging of cement)
- (d) Cloth printing, dyeing and weaving
- (e) Manufacture of matches, explosives and fireworks
- (f) Mica-cutting and splitting
- (g) Shellac manufacture
- (h) Soap manufacture
- (i) Tanning
- (j) Wool-cleaning
- (k) Building and construction industry

VII.1.2 Regulation of Conditions of Work of Children

The provisions of regulation of conditions of work of children shall apply to an establishment or a class of establishments in which none of the occupations or processes classified as prohibition of employment of children.

(i) No child shall be required or permitted to work in any establishment in excess of such number of hours as may be prescribed for such establishment or class of establishments.

(ii) The period of work on each day shall be so fixed that no period shall exceed hours and that no child shall work for more than three hours before he has had an interval for rest for at least one hour.

(iii) The period of a child shall be so arranged that inclusive of his interval for rest under sub-section (2) it shall not be spread over more than six hours including the time spent in waiting for work on any day.

(iv) No child shall be permitted or required to work between 7 p.m. and 8 a.m.

(v) No child shall be required or permitted to work over time.

(vi) No child shall be required or permitted to work in any establishment in any day on which he has already been working in another establishment.

(vii) If any question arises between an Inspector and an occupier on to the age of any child who is employed or is permitted to work by him in an establishment, the question shall, in the absence of a certificate as to the age of such child granted by the prescribed medical authority, be referred by the Inspector for decision to the prescribed medical authority.

(viii) There shall be maintained by every occupier in respect of children employed or permitted to work in any establishment a register to be available for inspection by an Inspector at all times during working hours or when work is being carried on in any such establishment, showing :

- (a) the name and date of birth of every child so employed or permitted to work;
- (b) hours and periods of work of any such child and the intervals of rest to which he is entitled;
- (c) the nature of work of any child; and
- (d) such other particulars as may be prescribed.

(ix) The appropriate government may by notification in the official Gazette, make rules for the health and safety of the children employed or permitted to work to any establishment or class of establishments.

(x) Without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provisions, the said rules may provide for all or any of the following matters, namely :

- (a) cleanliness in the place of work and its freedom from nuisance;

- (b) disposal of wastes and effluents;
- (c) ventilation and temperature;
- (d) dust and fume;
- (e) artificial humidification;
- (f) lighting;
- (g) drinking water;
- (h) latrine and urinals;
- (i) spittoons;
- (j) fencing of machinery;
- (k) work at or near machinery in motion;
- (l) employment of children in dangerous machines;
- (m) instructions, training and supervision in relation to employment of children on dangerous machines;
- (n) device of cutting off power;
- (o) self-acting machine;
- (p) easing of new machinery;
- (q) floor, stairs and means of access;
- (r) pits, sumps, openings in floors, etc;
- (s) excessive weights;
- (t) protection of eyes;
- (u) explosive or inflammable dust, gas, etc;
- (v) precautions in case of fire;
- (w) maintenance of buildings; and
- (x) safety of buildings and machinery.

Despite the various laws and legislative measures are made regarding the ban on employment of children, still the magnitude of child labour seems increasing in the

hazardous occupations. Whatever the factors responsible for child employment in the Indian labour market, it is true that the employment of children in the hazardous establishments is an act of violation of the Child Labour Act, 1986 and it is illegal from the point of view of rules under the Act.

VII.2 Practical Difficulties in the Implementations of Act

Though various acts have been made to prohibit the employment of children in certain establishments but the acts could not yield the good results. Of late, the Child Labour (Prohibition and Regulation) Act, 1986, is the latest Act passed by the Government of India which prohibits the employment of children below 14 years of age in certain hazardous occupations and processes while regulating the conditions of work in other jobs. The findings of the study conducted among the working children engaged in glass manufacturing industry in Ferozabad (U.P.) indicates the various practical problems in the implementation of the Act in effectively.

First of all, it has been observed that the work process related to glass manufacturing industry, the child labour is engaged in the form of household production at a higher magnitude. The number of children employed in household level in glass processing work is estimated to be more than two and half times more than the number of children working in the factory premises. The units operating at household

level are supplied with semi-finished products and then they supply their products after having finished to the factory owners on the basis of either fixed wage rate payment or piece rate payment. In other words, the two sets of production system, i.e., formal and informal are being operated in the glass industry in Ferozabad. At the household level, it is impractical to withdraw the children which are being used as child labour by their families through implementing the Act. Perhaps, this practice of decentralised manufacturing process is helpful in avoiding the legal complications from the view point of child labour to the employers of glass manufacturing units. Moreover, the work is also done by children at night in the houses. At factory level, when the officials of enforcement authority make visit to the factory, immediately the child labour is removed from the scene. However, we have been told by the enforcement machinery that they have caught the child workers in the factory premises and thereon reports have been lodged with the courts of competent jurisdiction. But at the time of hearing the cases, the employers have been able to produce the false age certificate (showing more than 14 years) of the concerned child workers from the medical officer in almost all the referred cases. Furthermore, the registers regarding the child employment, their wage rates and other matters related to child labour, are not maintained by the employers of the glass manufacturing units in district Ferozabad. This factor also proves a bottleneck in the implementation of Child Labour Act.

Due to over-burdened work and lack of man power, for the implementing authority, it is difficult to make proper investigation and inspection of the establishments employing the child labour. The enforcement officers have to perform several other duties assigned to them and they do not give due attention to the work related to prohibition of child employment. Some times it has been seen that lack of transport facility, the enforcement officers could not reach the targeted places. Generally, effective inspections are not carried out by the personnel of enforcement machinery without sufficient police force as there is no proper linkage and communication between the implementing authority and the police department.

But as mentioned above by the Government officials covers their helplessness more than what they conceal the real facts. The main duty of the district officials of the Labour Department is to protect the interests of labour. In fact they have tacit understanding with employers and discourage labour unions. Consequently, there is no single effective trade union in existence where more than 2 lakh labourers are working in the glass industry at Ferozabad. The irony of the fact is that labour leaders of the INTUC, having tacit understanding with the Labour Department, work as an agent to bargain with employers on the dictate of labour officers. Our short stay of less than two months made us observe as to how the employers blame the Government

officials and the Government officials blame the employers, but having tacit understanding between them regarding their mutual gains and for thwarting the emergence of an effective trade union in the glass industry at Ferozabad.

The District Industry Centre (DIC) which is supposed to regulate the industry, at least to check the misuse of the subsidised resources, helps in creating conditions for the employers to maximise their production. Its performance may be assessed with the fact that more than double is the number of fake industries on record approved by the DIC to get subsidised raw materials like coal, soda, ash, etc. from the Government through DIC. The employers and DIC officials have also tacit understanding between them in getting quota from the Government. This also strengthens the employers' position. An in-built system of informal collusion between the Government officials and employers is in fact a major obstacle to the implementation of the Act in the glass industry at Ferozabad.

The Acts related to prohibition of child employment is not known to the parents who send their children in the wage employment. Similarly working children have also no awareness about the Child Employment Acts. Whoever know the acts, the contents of the acts and legal aspects are not known to them as a result the act is not strengthening the prohibition of child employment. Under the Act any citizen may file a complaint with the local courts if he or she believes that children under fourteen are being employed in prohibited

occupations and processes - but it is necessary to produce a certificate from a government doctor that the employed children are under fourteen.

It seems that the existing socio-economic condition prevailing in the Indian society, the enforcement of Child Labour Act becomes unrealistic. Lack of public cooperation is also a problem in enforcing the Prohibition of Child Employment. The Labour Inspector (Enforcement Officer), whenever he gets chance to book any violaton, has difficulties in collecting evidence from proper prosecution. The fact is that the parents are helpless and the employers are strong enough to protect themselves in the prevailing socio-economic situation at Ferozabad.

In fact, the co-existence of the factory form of production with the household form of production, as being reproduced simultaneously under the State patronage arising out of the multi-class based social structures under the dominant but lumpen bourgeoisie mode of production and exploitation, is the real cause for the perpetuation of child labour at a large scale in the glass industry at Ferozabad.

Hence the child cannot be prevented from entering into labour force unless the reproduction system of child labour is transformed to that one where the child does not enter into labourforce or as Weiner¹ says, the right to education

1. Weiner, M., The Child and the State in India, Princeton University Press, U.S.A., 1991.

for children upto 14 years age is realised as the duty of the state to see that the parents send their children to the schools and the children attend their schools at any cost. In the absence of either of these two, any legislative and administrative measures will hardly serve the desired social purpose.

CHAPTER VIII

Conclusions and Suggestions

The study on child labour was carried out in district Ferozabad among the working children engaged in glass manufacturing industry. It is based on the survey of 500 children employed in units of glass manufacturing industry and the 500 households of these working children. Apart from the working children and their families, we have also surveyed 20 units of glass manufacturing industry to examine the pattern of child employment, wage rate, working condition and other environmental aspects. The main focus of the study was to examine the socio-economic background of families in terms of family size, literacy level, occupational pattern, income level, attitude of parents towards children, etc. from where the children are working as child labour in the hazardous occupation. Similarly the factors, economic, social, cultural, traditional and others responsible for high incidence of child labour in glass industry have been also identified. The characteristics of working children, i.e., age, education, skill, training, environment and working condition, areas of exploitation, hours of work, wage rates, rate of morbidity and attitude and perception of working children toward work have detailed been discussed.

In fact, the present study shows (a) why the households, given their socio-economic background, supply their child labour for wages in the labour market; (b) how the child

labour is used and abused; and (c) the implications of child labour use and abuse on the physical development and health of the working children in the glass industry at Ferozabad. The perception and attitude of those working children about their work and use is also discussed in the study. To what extent, the labour laws and other Government measures have been effective in curbing the use and abuse of child labour, is also analysed in this study.

A close scrutiny of the previous chapters leaves no doubt in the mind about the magnitude of the problem of child labour entrenched in the close confines of the glass works in Ferozabad which are carried at the household as well at the factory level, i.e., have a conjuncture of both, household and factory form of production. Alongwith emerges the urgency to mobilise action and achievement oriented programmes initiated by the government, NGOs and the employers themselves to diffuse the situation. It has been realised that this problem with economic roots has remained to a greater degree a social one. It is more a way of life for those battling with poverty as such legislation per se is not enough in regulating and curbing this unhuman practice. Families caught in the web of poverty do not have a legacy other than the work for their children. Supporting this statement is the observation that a quarter of the working children in households followed the father in the later's profession. Further, a vast majority of fathers (71.60 per

cent) set a precedent for their children by working as child labour themselves. The demonstration effect is strong resulting in generations following their fathers footsteps to ease the economic burden.

Present research reveals that families found security in number by disregarding the small family norm. "A large family means great income during the busy season and greater savings for the next seasons"¹. The fact is that the households supply their child labour for wages for maximising the present income, as the future income involves high opportunity cost and investment of time and income in the schooling of their children. Hence the supply of child labour and fertility being positive in relation, make them secure in a large family size. This happens so because the present socio-economic system leads to such reproduction process.

In Ferozabad sample an average family had 5.77 persons. Large families sent fewer children to work as within this income consumption patterns unchanged so that the family needed to send fewer to its members to work to achieve its customary consumption levels. This is made clear in Chapter IV, but having a large family size as a security. The need of the hour is to intensify family planning programme in this area. In his paper Bal Mazdoor Kitne Majboor S.S. Bhadoria suggested "that in order to reduce child labour it is necessary to introduce the small family norm".² A two pronged strategy is needed, family planning programme should

be complemented with a family literacy scheme as the mainspring of this formidable problem is ignorance. Amid the heads of household interviewed nearly 64 per cent were illiterate. Their low orientation with education has adverse bearing on child education. But an overwhelming percentage (95 per cent) realised the value of education and were in favour of educating their children both male and female. A great many, over 60 per cent, recognised the need for enrolling their children for vocational training to secure their future. Among the working children more than half (54.80) had some education behind them though 173 dropped out, reflecting on the increase in awareness. (It is essential to mention here that the 500 working children interviewed represent the 500 households surveyed). Maximum working children come from scheduled caste (49.20 per cent) and backward (24.40 per cent) families which are living in acute poverty. This is in keeping with the national trend. "Most child labour belong to what are known as SC or are from among the tribals. Literacy is the lowest among them and poverty the highest".³ (Walter Fernandes)

As education is not compulsory many children in Ferozabad stepped into the labour market over before they crossed the tender age of six (8.29 per cent) and most between the age of 7-10 years. Families surveyed realised that children below 10 years were too immature physically and mentally to carry this burden. If adverse circumstances were not as compelling they would have made skill training

available for their children once they completed their 10th year. And only thereafter thought of letting them venture into the labour market. An ILO report states that "the problem of child labour is the problem of the maintenance of the child and the living wage of the adult wage earner in order to maintain an adequate family standard". I. Satya Sundaram in his article 'Plight of Child Labour' has rightly said that "catch them young seems to be the rule"⁴ of those sending and employing child labour. It is disheartening to note that this view is supported by government officials also. "The labour department at Ferozabad has recommended that child labour should not be banned because unless a child starts working at a very young age he will not get acclimatized to the heat"⁵ (Myron Weiner). The department has not done its homework well by not considering long time consequences. Quoting M. Weiner further "skilled workers are paid 60 to 65 rupees per day, but work lives are short. Few workers are able to continue past the age of thirty five".⁶ This data is self-explanatory. It makes clear that opportunity cost will be greater for child labour if he foregoes employment at young age. Moreover, at times the physical and mental growth of child workers is retarded and their wages as adults may therefore be less than others in his class. S. Murty in his study of child worker in the unorganised sector of Ujjain city also found that age of child workers was towards the lower end of the scale. Most were between 8-12 years of age.⁷ Another survey of child

workers in Bombay revealed that 24.7 per cent of the child workers had begun work between 6-9 years, 48.4 per cent between 10-12 years and 26.9 per cent between 13-15 years (Singh Kaura & Khan, 1978).⁸ An enquiry carried out in Visakhapatnam city in 1990 discovered that 18 per cent of the children belonged to the 5-10 years age group and 82 per cent to the 10-15 years group. This predisposition of putting small children into paid employment is universal be it industry or agriculture.

Some (13.40 per cent) children working in glass works at present had previous work experience. But most left former employment due to unpleasant experiences, 22.39 per cent because wages were low and workload was heavy. Data from present research shows that they did not gain from the change in job as their situation is similar here too. Many gave up previous work as there was no job security while some complained of being relieved of their services without prior information or reason or because of closure of work place. "Due to the immature age of the child workers the employers can coase, admonish, pull up and punish them for defaults without jeopardising relations" (Singh & Sinha, 1990)⁹. Such instances are visible in Ferozabad too where may children wanted to switch over to other jobs due to such treatment.

These children are not necessarily a satisfied lot as they too have certain aspirations and preferences in life. Given a chance as many as 81 per cent would quit working. While a considerable number would join school to study.

Other were in favour of going in for further training instead to prepare themselves to compete in the adult labour market. There is always a percentage of children who would rather be elsewhere. Murthy's study gave this percentage at thirty five.

It is a recognised fact that "economic distress of the people of lower income groups creates the basic urge for sending their children to work so that a support to family income may be availed from their earnings" (Singh and Sinha, 1990).¹⁰ In the sample maximum households belonged to the Rs.1001-2000 income group. Income included children's contribution too. More than a quarter households therefore resorted to borrowing the amount of loan in most cases exceeded Rs.5000. This patent loan agency were the landlords who (in general) are quite infamous for this corrupt monetary dealings. The difficulties of these households instead of being reduced intensified further by running into debt. These complexities of insistence forced households to send their children to work. This issue is easily understood by examining the inverse relationship between household income and number of working children. Verifying this finding in the response of majority of the child workers who gave the need for supplementary income, which precipitated due to poverty, as the deciding factor for their entry into labour market. A few were working either because their parents were ill or dead while many were forced by parents to earn. All studies on child labour endorse the fact that this problem

has its roots in poverty. Very few children are genuinely interested in working, in our sample this number was low (19.20 per cent).

The income these working children bring amounts to a quarter of the aggregate household income. Whatever the earnings of child workers share is vital in meeting family expenses. This positive aspect is negated considering the heavy cost of working for child labour as in the bargain he/she spoils his/her health and loses his childhood. On an average a child earns Rs.11.04 a day. The income a child receives is concrete evidence of exploitation as it is not in accordance to the labour time and weekly holidays or lack of them. Only nine per cent children were given weekly holidays, others worked right through the month for unearthly hours.

Maximum number of children worked for 6-8 hours or more but were not justly compensated. Just a handful were able to draw more than Rs.600 in a month for long hours of labour from their inhuman employers. Reporting on the child workers of the glass industry in Ferozabad an article in Financial Express dated 6 October, 1992 reveals that children work for 14 hours a day at a stretch or more with "no holidays or day off but managed to earn only Rs.3-5 a day".¹¹ This seems to be the case of children in other employments too. A study of child labour in Cuttack city discloses that as high as 69 per cent children work for more than eight hours a day (Mishra &

Mishra, 1990).¹² The Ujjain study shows that maximum number (30 per cent) of girl child labour worked for six to eight hours per day while boys (30 per cent) for eight to ten hours a day. But incomes were not in correspondence with hours never rising beyond Rs.500 a month for both sexes.

Long hours and low income are damaging for the child in more ways than one. Such treatment reduces the bargaining power of children for the future. To quote Dr. Ashok Mitra "Very low wages at a young age are not helpful in securing high wages at a higher age and therefore wages tend to rise slowly thus, undermining productivity."¹³ Besides working restlessly for long hours without a period or day of rest drains a child physically and mentally. S.P. Verma opines that "They work under temperature of 1400°C becoming prey to T.B. and other diseases and the cornea of the eye is damaged".¹⁴ Kitchlu in his research on child labour of glass bangles industries in Ferozabad also found that of the total labour engaged thirty per cent were children. Their working conditions were highly injurious as the place of work was filled with smoke, dust, fumes and other noxious material. Most workers had asthma, bronchitis, anemia, T.B. cancer and even loss of vision. Children were made to work for eight hours without any rest. Many were made to work for as long as ten to twelve hours a day.¹⁵ Our research also supports the above findings nearly 47 per cent children fell sick frequently majority being prone to fever. Diseases related to the stomach, jaundice, cold and cough and skin diseases

were rampant. Work load coupled with low calory non-nutritious diet proved to be a deadly combination for most. Some paid heavily as their body balance could not take. The strain and they fell prey to polio and small pox. Majority were under weight and to below standard height. "Continuous exposure to such heat besides causing burns and scalding often leads to dehydration and enhaution" and most go without treatment as they "cannot afford the costly glucose drips"¹⁶ Financial Express. The miseries of child labour do not end at this, many have to help in household chores too. Collecting water and fuel, working in fields and running errands also shake their energy.

These overburdened children hardly get any leisure but whatever time they do have most spent it playing, few roamed around the village while some thought it prudent to rest before going back to their gruelling task. Negligible number think their time well spent if they devote it to reading.

The emerging picture of child labour working in the glass works is not of very pleasant one. These children represent a form of slavery which seems to have the sanction of parents, government and employers. The need is to root out this practice from the society. This herculean task calls for systematic thinking, planning and approach. Mobilisation of resources and public opinion supplemented with sincere efforts on the part of the government, employers, parents, NGOs and the public are essential.

The genesis of the problem lies at the fundamental stage in defining child labour. Here is no uniformity in the various laws regarding the age at which the ban on child labour applied. The Factories Act, 1948 prohibits employment of children below 17 years in factories whereas the Merchant Shipping Act, 1961 prohibits employment of children below 15. When the law itself discriminates, confusion and chaos are natural resultants. Article 24 and Article 38(e) and (f) of the Directive Principles of State Policy seem to be an exercise in futility. These together with the child labour (Regulation and Prevention) Act, 1986 appear to be an eye wash forfeiting their whole purpose.

Further, the restriction on the use of child labour did not cover all categories in the same industry. According to a clause in the law none of these restrictions "shall apply to any establishment wherein any process is carried by the occupiers with the aid of his family". Families are bound to have children. In Ferozabad nearly fifty eight per cent of the children work in family run units and as such are working legally. Such loop-holes and self-contradictory clauses require immediate amendment. Tardy implementation of the Act together with poor follow up, inspection, motivation and political interference act as a stumbling block for its effective functioning. The above aspects have to be kept in mind while rethinking and reforming laws.

The next issues which have to be examined carefully are the supply and demand conditions of child labour. Economic wants of the households on the supply side and vested interests of employers on the demand side play a crucial role in perpetuating child labour in the glass industry of Ferozabad. The solution would be to increase real incomes of households taking recourse to child labour. Large scale efforts to deal with the structural stagnation of the village economies are suggested keeping in view the policy constraints. A purposeful step towards this would be providing women with remunerative employment. The empowerment of women and their education would reduce fertility and population growth thereby increasing per capita income and consumption. This in turn would keep children at home and school thereby regulating child labour. Advantages of schemes of welfare should be vigorously advertised and stepped up by the government and NGOs. With benefits from these schemes compulsion to send children to work will be reduced. For this a close networking of government, NGOs and employers is necessarily required. In order to safeguard the interests of labour, an effective trade union is also needed.

Dealing with employers is quite another matter. Most hire children as they know that work can be done by child workers at a cheaper cost in comparison to that of adult labour. It ensures them more profit margin over investments. Manufacturers in the glass works of Ferozabad accept "that the

industry cannot run without them and doing away with them would mean a loss of twenty five per cent".¹⁷ In our survey some of the employers acknowledged the presence of child labour in their establishments and reported the amount of wages paid to the child workers by them. But they do not maintain any record of child employment and wage payment. If they have any, then only fictitious. Devaki Jain's also opines that "they (employers) were not keeping an account of their (child labours') attendance as they did not treat them as workers". Though there is a clause in the law of 1986 which provides for penalisation of those employing child labour but the vast use of child labour in Ferozabad shows the manufacturers disregard for it and the loose enforcement of the law. To curb this practice stringent action should be taken against defaulters. Heavy fines which lure their budgets should be imposed. Public boycott of such establishments should be promoted by activists. To make all this effective an impartial government machinery and quick and smooth functioning judiciary are a must.

Further, other constraints as casual employment of child labour, their lack of rights as workers, no organisation and bargaining capacity leads to easy exploitation. Employers hire and fire them at their own convenience and will. These children rarely earn income equal to minimum wage. Their earnings are lower than those of adult workers for the same work. All these result because these workers are not given recognition being not approved by law. They are more or less

invisible and therefore entitled to no benefits and treated with minimum regard.

An overall picture that emerges from the present study, shows a strong knot of tie between the household and factory forms of production in the glass industry at the system level and given this tie, the socio-economic system of production and distribution is reproducing the households that supply child labour for wages in the labour market. As a result, the children are working for wages and their parents are not sending them for education. This also causes abuse of child labour leading to adverse effects on the physical development and health of the working children. The labour laws and other legislature-cum-administrative measures are also ineffective to curb out the use and abuse of child labour in the glass industry.

Therefore, some clear-cut policy direction and efforts are required to prevent the children from entering to labour force, so that a child could be a part of human resource development, and human capital formation. If a policy direction is made to abolish child labour, then the right to education for the children of below 14 years of age should not only be recognised but that must become a state duty so that the parents are not allowed to send their children for work and the children must attend the school.

In view of this idea, the state must have to maintain the costs of their children education under the compulsory

primary education scheme. At the same time, those households which supply their child labour, should also be protected economically in order to protect socio-economic lot.

If there is policy effort to rehabilitate these workers, must be concretised. With unemployment rampant these child workers are not indispensable. Public awareness of ongoing child welfare schemes should be increased for effective upliftment of these children. Formal education along with a vocational training should be introduced and made compulsory.

The three agencies namely the government, employers and parents which at present corroborate to work against these children should join forces to retrench them for schools or vocational training institutions. Thought should be given by economists and officials to evolve plans to do away with this malevolent practice for besides endangering the human resource of the country this trend is rendering adult labour jobless. Looking at the socio-economic canvas of the country one can't be sure when we shall be able to ratify the ILO convention of 1973 abolishing child labour.

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